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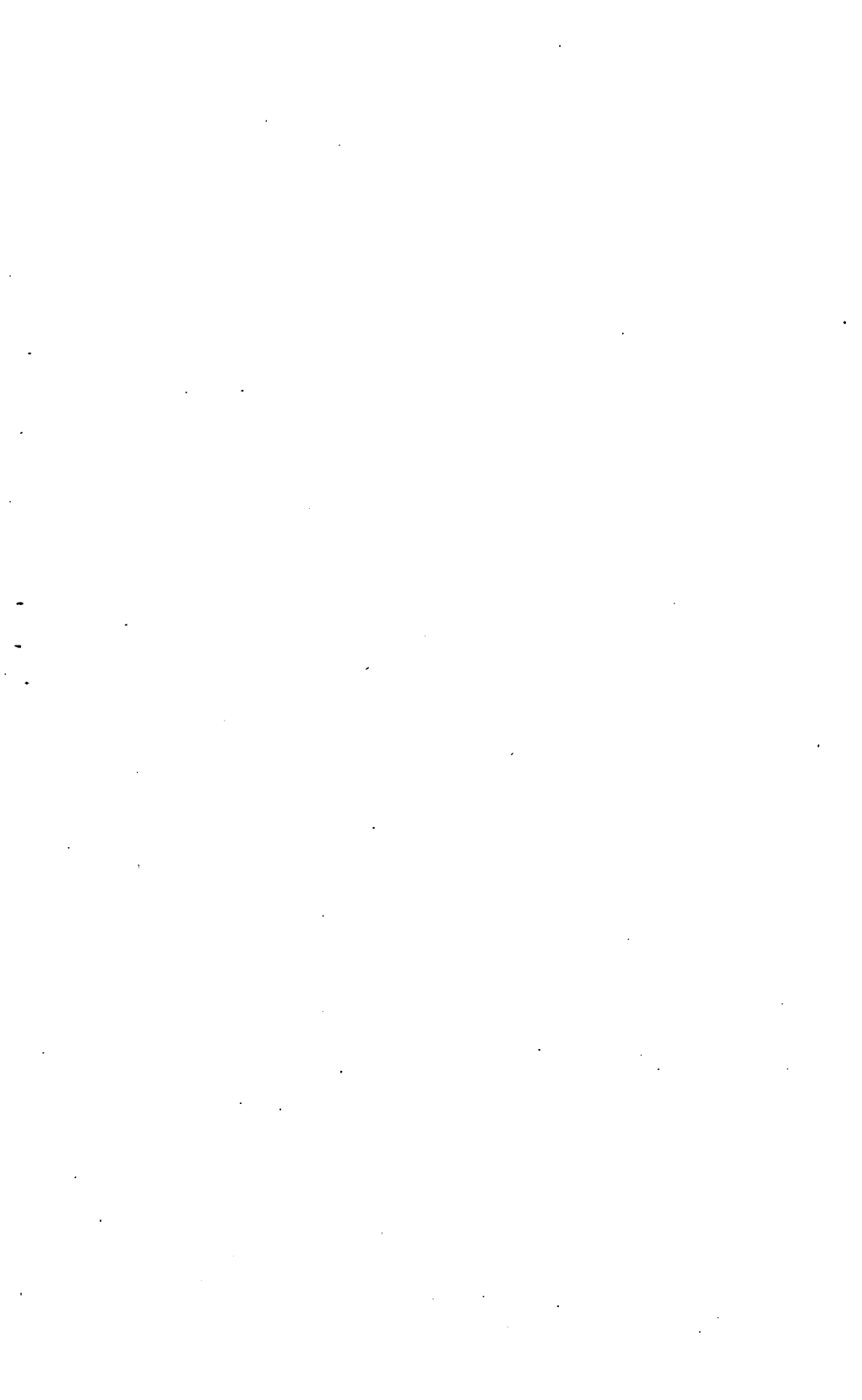
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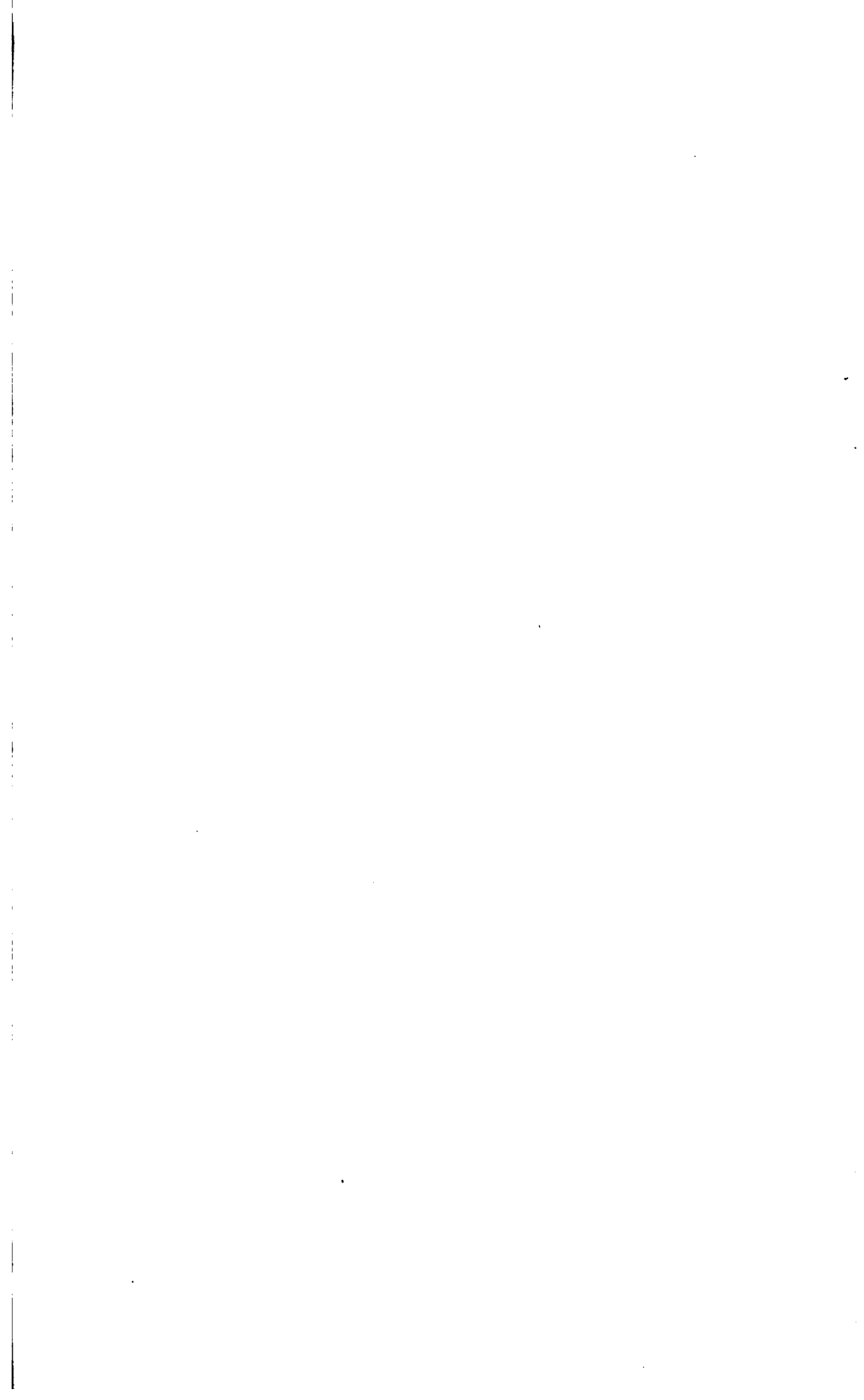
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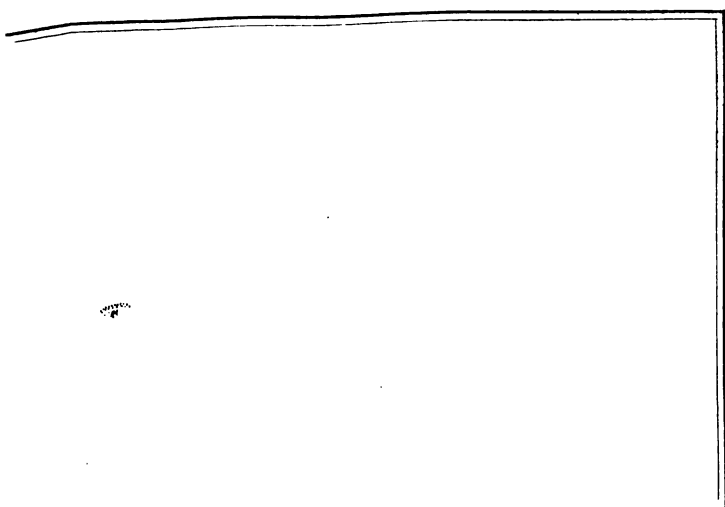
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AN

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL

ACCOUNT OF

THE BERMUDAS,

FROM

THEIR DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

WILLIAM FRITH WILLIAMS.

"Where the remote Bermudas ride,
I' th' Ocean's bosom unespied."

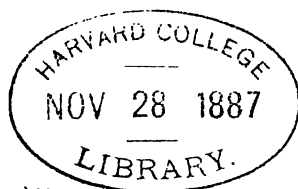
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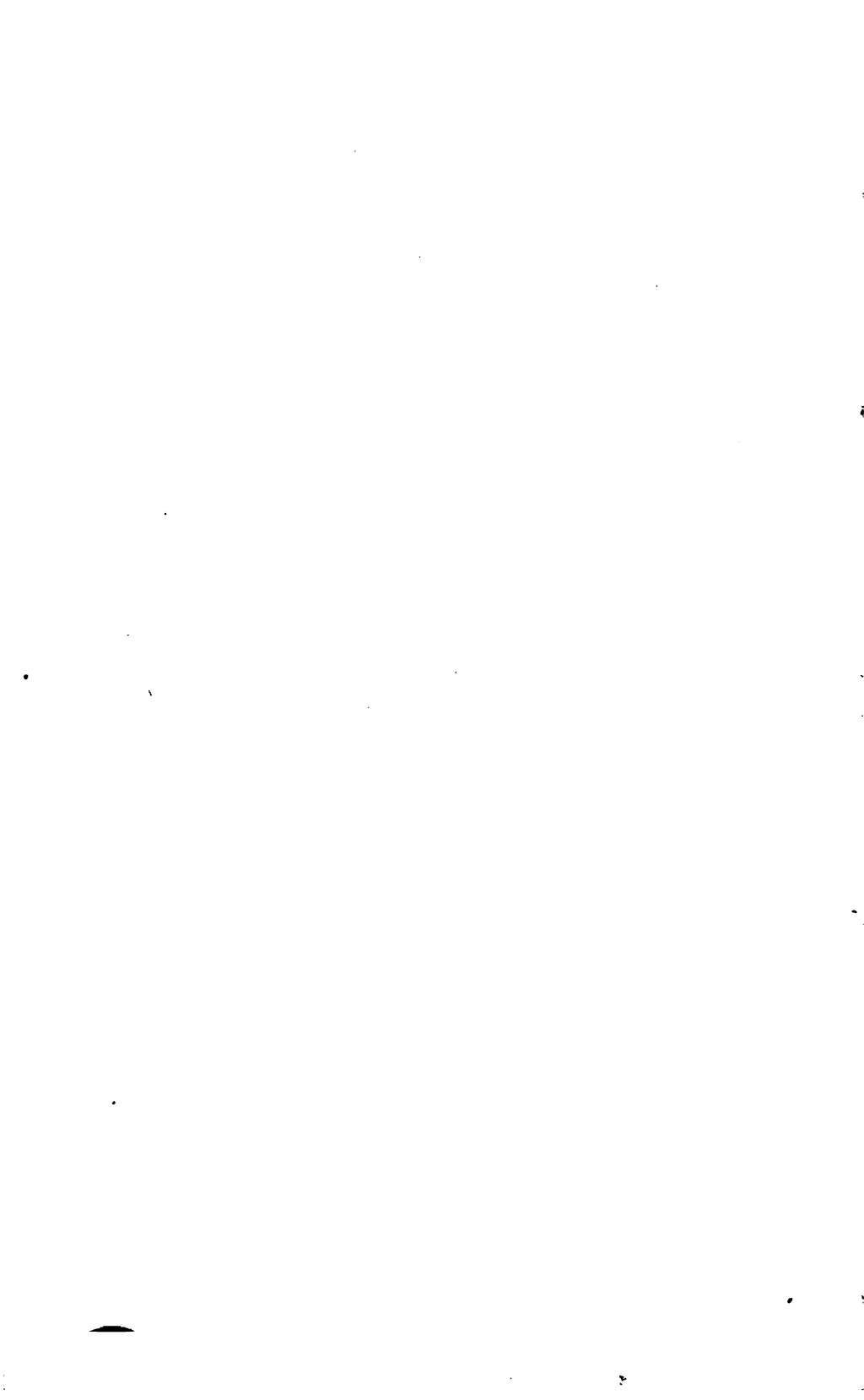
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TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WILLIAM REID, C.B.,
GOVERNOR
AND
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF
OF
THE BERMUDAS,

This Volume,

WHEREIN AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO FURNISH A SUCCINCT HISTORICAL
ACCOUNT OF A COLONY DAILY INCREASING
IN INTEREST AND IMPORTANCE,
AND THE PROSPERITY OF WHICH IS MAINLY ATTRIBUTABLE
TO HIS UNWEARIED AND DISINTERESTED EFFORTS TO
PROMOTE ITS IMPROVEMENT,
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E

THE attempt to write the history of a place which the Poet Moore thought possessed no materials for the purpose may be considered a bold undertaking, and the best excuse I can offer is expressed in a phrase in constant use by the authorities of the Bermudas, that "though small, the islands form an important part of the British Empire." Besides this, Mr. Moore admits that Pinkerton thought "a good history and description of the Bermudas might afford a pleasing addition to the geographical library." If these considerations would not suffice, I may add that the land where "Ariel has warbled and Waller has strayed," must always possess sufficient attractions to render its history interesting.*

It is generally thought that no history of the

* The most fashionable excuse for a work at the present day, is that it was not at first intended for the public eye, but existed either in the

Islands has ever before been written, but there is evidence among the records to show that a Mr. Perient Trott published a work of the kind during the seventeenth century, which so exasperated the Company of Adventurers that they ordered it to be collected and publicly burnt by the hangman. There is also some reason to believe that a similar work was published at a much later period.

Until the American revolution, the Islands were of little consequence to Great Britain, but after that event their importance became every day more apparent, and immense sums have since been expended in fortifying them.

The materials for this volume are to be found principally in the Public Records of the Colony, which, though much neglected, are still in a tolerable state of preservation, commencing with Governor Moore's Commission, in 1612. No record of the

shape of private correspondence or careless memoranda, and that these materials would never have been given to the world, but for the solicitations of perhaps partial friends, &c. &c. &c. Generally speaking, these same private letters, or notes, are marvellously found to contain nothing but the matter in question to the subject history or fiction. For my own part, I claim no such protection, but honestly state that I sat deliberately down to write this history, and be my sins what they may, they were premeditated.

proceedings of the Council of the Colony appears to have been kept until the year 1622, but from that date the chain is well connected. The curious papers respecting the enchanted treasure are contained in a manuscript book preserved in the Secretary's Office of the Islands, called "Treasure Trove," which contains likewise much other interesting matter connected with the early history of the Colony. The grant from the Earl of Warwick and his colleagues is among the papers preserved in the office of the Clerk of the Council. It is difficult, however, to decypher much of it now, as the injuries inflicted by time have almost destroyed it.

Among the pages of these brief and noiseless annals, perhaps there is not a brighter one, or one more worthy of admiration than that which records the total emancipation from slavery on the 1st of August, 1834. Of the few slave colonies whose proper sense of liberality led them to decline the proffered six years' apprenticeship, Bermuda stood foremost, and it will for ever afford a gratifying retrospect, that its legislative deliberations, when called upon to pronounce the final issue of the struggle between justice and interest, did loudly proclaim in favour of the former.

To thank each individual to whom I am indebted, for valuable assistance during the progress of this work, would be impossible, and to select a few would be invidious ; I must, therefore, content myself by generally expressing the obligations I am under.

HAMILTON, BERMUDA.

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HISTORY OF THE BERMUDAS.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery—Granted to Camelo by the King of Spain—Shipwreck of Henry May—Of Sir George Somers—Granted by King James I. to the Virginia Company—Formation of the Bermuda Company—Settlement under Governor Richard Moore.

THE Bermudas were first discovered in 1515,* by a Spanish vessel, called *La Garza* (on a voyage from Old Spain to Cuba with a cargo of hogs), commanded by Juan Bermudez, and having on board Gonzalez Oviedo, the historian of the Indies. Having approached within cannon-shot, they regarded the group as a single island, about twelve leagues in length, and thirty in circumference.

* Murray's *British America*, vol. ii, p. 140. This date seems, however, to be very uncertain. The Abbé Raynal says 1527. *History of the East and West Indies*, vol. iii, p. 39; also Winterbottom vol. iv, p. 287. Fenning, in his *Geography*, London, 1771, fixes the period at 1503.

From the appearance of the place they concluded that it was uninhabited; but a resolution was formed to send boats on shore to make observations and leave a few hogs, which might breed and be afterwards useful. When, however, they were preparing to debark, a strong contrary gale arose, which obliged them to sheer off and be content with the view already obtained.

The swarms of birds and flying-fish, with the contests waged between them, furnished to Oviedo one of the most amusing spectacles he had ever beheld. He calls it the remotest island in the whole world, meaning, no doubt, the most distant from any land. It was named by the Spaniards, indifferently, *La Garza*, from the ship, or *Bermuda*, from the captain—but the former term is long since disused. It was soon found that in returning from the West Indies, mariners must avoid the trade-winds as directly opposed to them; hence they steered northward until they reached the latitude of the Bermudas, where these winds ceased, and whence they took an easterly course, which often brought them in view of these islands.

It does not appear that the Spaniards made any attempt to settle there, although Philip II. granted them to one Ferdinand Camelo, a Portuguese, who never improved the gift beyond taking possession by the form of landing, in 1543, and carving on a prominent cliff on the southern shore, the initials of his name and the year, to which, in conformity with the practical zeal of the times, he superadded

a cross, to protect his acquisition from the encroachments of roving heretics and the devil.* The stormy seas and dangerous reefs gave rise to so many disasters, as to render the group exceedingly formidable in the eyes of the most experienced navigators. It was even invested in their imagination with superstitious terrors, being considered as unapproachable by man, and given up in full dominion to the spirits of darkness.† Besides, the whole of the New World lay open to Spain, and it is not to be wondered at that she gave herself no trouble about this petty group.

These islands were first introduced to the notice of the English by a dreadful shipwreck. In 1591, Henry May sailed to the East Indies, along with Captain Lancaster, and having reached the coasts of Sumatra and Malacca, he scoured the adjacent seas, and made some valuable captures. In 1593, they again doubled the Cape of Good Hope and

* These marks are still to be seen. They do not exactly agree with Camelo's name, but they are undoubtedly of great antiquity, and there is every reason to believe are the same. How far Satan has been kept off by them, is uncertain; but the dreaded heretics have invaded the sanctity of the spot, and have had the bad taste to scribble their names and initials in every variety of character about, and almost in contact with the memorials of the pious Portuguese, so that it is now difficult to distinguish Camelo's name from those of the Browns and Smiths of the present generation. Not far from the spot, there is a natural curiosity, which alone is worth a visit to the place. A square of stones, which at first sight appears to have been the work of regular stone-cutters, the bottom being level, and divided at right angles into small squares, by lines strongly marked, similar to a chess-board. There is no doubt but that this curiosity was formed by the waves. Both this and the marks are on the property of Nicholas Peniston, Esq., in Smith's parish.

† The Spaniards gave them the name of "Los Diabolos," the Devil's Islands.

returned by the West Indies, with a view to obtain refreshments which they much needed. They came first in sight of Trinidad, but dared not approach a coast which was in possession of the Spaniards, and their distress became so extreme that Lancaster found the utmost difficulty in preventing his men from leaving the ship. He, therefore, steered for Porto Rico; but when pursuing his voyage, he discovered a small island named Mona, where, finding a partial supply, they remained fifteen days. They were joined by a French armed ship from Caen, the commander of which, La Barbotière, kindly relieved their wants by a gift of bread and other provisions. They shaped their course for Cape Tiburon, in Hayti, and on their way once more fell in with the French captain. Their stores being again nearly exhausted, a fresh application was made to him, but he declared his own stock so much reduced that he could afford very little, yet, if they would accompany him to Port Gonave, they should be amply supplied. They did so; but the sailors, who were suffering severely, persuaded themselves that the Frenchman's scarcity was feigned, and also that May, who conducted the negotiation, was regaling himself with good cheer on board, without any trouble about their distress. Among these men, inured to bold and desperate deeds, a company was soon formed to seize the French pinnace, and with its aid to attack and, if possible, to capture the large vessel. They succeeded in their first object, but immediately after this, one of their number betrayed

the secret to Barbotière. Without seeming to know any thing, he invited Lancaster and May to dine with him on board, and having cheerfully entertained them, asked them to stay to supper; previous to that meal he was some time absent, and on coming in, stated that from the footing on which the two vessels were, it appeared necessary that they should separate. Lancaster, who had probably witnessed the provocation given by the violence of his crew, declared that he had no wish to detain him; but both he and May were not a little surprised when they found the ship in motion, and sailing off at full speed. Barbotière, when asked the cause of this movement, mentioned the conspiracy which he had discovered, adding that he kept them as hostages against the outrageous conduct of their men. This motion was soon observed by the crew, who, instead of being embarrassed at the loss of their officers, immediately took possession of the provisions which had been reserved for them, weighed anchor, and stood for England. They were, however, overtaken, and after some further transactions an accommodation was effected. Lancaster returned to his ship, but Barbotière, at his request, undertook to take May home with him, that he might inform his employers of the events of the voyage, and the unruly behaviour of the crew.

On the 29th of November, the French captain sailed from Laguna, taking the usual course by Bermuda. Strict watch appears to have been kept

while they supposed themselves to be near that dreaded spot ; but about noon on the 7th of December, the pilots declared that they were twelve leagues south of it, and past all danger. They called, therefore, for the allowance of wine, to which it seems, they were then entitled, and, on its being furnished, threw aside all care, and gave themselves up to carousing. Amid this jollity, about midnight, the ship struck with such violence as to make it evident that she must speedily sink. In this dreadful situation they hoped that as the rock was high, it formed part of the land : they could only put out a small boat, to which they attached a hastily constructed raft, to be towed along with it ; room was however made for only twenty-six, while the crew exceeded fifty. In the wild and dangerous struggle that ensued, and while the ship was fast filling, May looked on in despair, thinking it vain for him, the only Englishman, to attempt entering either conveyance, as he would instantly be pushed overboard. Barbotière, at this crisis, seeing him from the boat, called to him to leap in, for it stood upon life or death. He lost no time in complying, and, in his own words, “ It pleased God to make me one of them that were saved, I hope to his mercy and glory.”

They had still to beat about nearly the whole of the next day, dragging the raft after them, and it was almost dark before they reached the shore : they were tormented with thirst, and for some time were in despair of finding even a drop of liquid ;

but at last a pilot, digging among a heap of plants, discovered a rock, which being filled with rain-water relieved their distress. The land was covered with one unbroken forest, chiefly of cedar, so that no vegetable food could be obtained. Without some exertion, however, the islands must have become their abode for life; and to avert this it was necessary that a bark should be constructed, sufficient to convey them to some European settlement. They had happily saved the carpenter's tools, with which they began to cut down the cedars. Having made a voyage to the sunken ship, they found the shrouds still above water, and cut them off for tackling: for pitch they took lime, rendered adhesive by a mixture of turtle oil, and forced it into the seams, when the weather being extremely hot it dried instantly, and became as hard as stone. Thus by the month of April they had constructed a vessel of eighteen tons, and dreading lest the increasing heat should absorb their water, they resolved to set sail. During a residence of five months, May had occasion to observe that Bermuda, hitherto supposed a single island, was broken into a number, of different sizes, enclosing many fine bays, and forming good harbours. They were found subject to rain and thunder storms, though the weather in Spring was very fine. He considered the soil barren, but probably adopted that opinion from seeing nothing growing except timber.

The vessel being finished, they placed on deck, at each side of the mast, a large chest containing a

stock of water and thirteen live turtle. On the 11th of May, they saw themselves, with joy, clear of the islands, and bent their course towards Newfoundland. They had a very favourable voyage, and on the 20th entered a river on Cape Breton, where they took in wood, water, and ballast. They then steered for the larger island, whither they had directed their course, but upon applying to be received on board several ships bound for Europe, they were refused by all, except one belonging to Falmouth, where they obtained temporary accommodation: soon after they found a French vessel, into which the mariners of that nation were received, and May took leave of Barbotière, whom he justly called his dear friend, and obtained a passage in the ship to England, where he arrived in August, 1594.*

It was owing to a tempest that Bermuda again came under the view of the English.

In 1609, during the most active period of the colonization of Virginia, an expedition of nine ships and five hundred men, was sent out, commanded by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, the first to act as deputy-governor under Lord Delaware. They had a favourable passage until they reached the thirteenth parallel of north-latitude, where they were overtaken by a frightful tempest, called by Archer "the tail of the West India horacano." They were completely separated;

* Murray's *British America*, vol. ii, p. 143—145. Smith's *History of Virginia*, &c., vol. ii, p. 118—119.

each vessel choosing its own course; the principal one, the *Sea-Adventure*, in which were Gates, Somers, and Newport, seems to have been involved in the thickest of the tempest. Strachy declares that he had witnessed storms on the most dangerous shores of Europe and Africa, but never any that could be compared with this: when it seemed to have reached its utmost violence, still "was fury added to fury, and one storm^{*} urging a second more outrageous. Our clamours were drowned in the windes, and the windes in thunder; the sea swelled above the clouds and gave battell unto heaven."

The sky poured down, not rain, but rivers, yet without assuaging the tumultuous fury of the blast, and still all this seemed nothing compared to the discovery that water had accumulated in the hold to the depth of five feet, covering the ballast and two tier of casks above it. Every corner was eagerly searched for the leak, and 10,000 pounds weight of biscuit was turned over in the bread-room, but though they found a number of small holes, which were hastily stopped with pieces of beef, the great one, by which their destruction rushed in, never could be traced. All hands were now called to the pumps to labour for life, and though there seemed no hope of ultimate success, yet "so dear are a few lingering hours of life to mankind," that they zealously turned out. Three parties were formed, each divided into two sets, who relieved each other every hour. The governor and admiral

took their turns, and gentlemen who had never had an hour's hard work in their lives, now "their minds helping their bodies, toiled with the best." Amid the utter darkness, a light, like a small star flickering among the masts and shrouds, inspired superstitious terrors — though it is an electrical phenomenon usual in such circumstances. Thus they pumped 2,000 tons of water, when being quite exhausted, and the sea always gaining on them, they determined to shut the hatches and commit themselves to its mercy; some, who had cordial-waters, filled their glasses to drink to each other "a last leave before meeting in a more blessed world." At this instant, Sir George Somers, who had been watching at the poop day and night, cried out land! The others ran to the spot, and, as the morning was already dawning, had the gratification to see the very trees on shore moving in the gale. Then, it is said, "every one bustled up," exertions were redoubled, and lighting, providentially, on the only secure entrance, they reached to within less than one mile of the shore. Here the vessel, being happily wedged between two rocks,* was preserved from sinking, till, by means of a boat and skiff, the whole crew of one hundred and fifty, with a great part of the provisions and tackling were landed.†

* The shoal is now called by the name of the ship, Sea-venture flat. It is probable it was so named at the time of the shipwreck.

† Murray's *British America*, vol. ii, p. 147. Jourdan, in Hakluyt, discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Island of Devils.

Having established themselves upon the islands, they found food in abundance ; hogs were plentiful, and, unlike those found by May, were in good condition, and were slaughtered in great numbers. This was the season for the berries produced by the cedar, which was not the case when Barbotière's vessel was wrecked, consequently the crew of the *Sea-Adventure* found these animals in excellent order. At the season when the hogs were lean, turtle abounded ; and Strachy contents himself by saying that the company " liked it very well."

Mr. Shelly discovered a bay* swarming with mullets and excellent pilchards ; rock-fish and crawfish were daily taken by a party under the direction of Henry Shelly and Robert Walsingham.† Birds were equally abundant and various—many of species peculiar to the island ; the most singular was one called the cowhow or cowhie,‡ about the size of the plover, which came forth only in the darkest nights of November and December, hovering over the shore, " making a strange, hollow, and harsh howling." The most approved mode of taking them, was by standing on rocks by the sea-side, whooping, hallooing, and making the strangest outcries, which attracted the birds, until they settled on the very person of the hunter.§

Gates and Somers caused the long-boat to be

* Still called by his name, " Shelly Bay." † There is a bay named from this person. ‡ This bird is now extinct. § Purchas, vol. iv, p. 1738—1823.

decked with the ship's hatches, and sent Raven, the mate, with eight men to Virginia to bring shipping for their conveyance. Strict watch was ordered to be kept, and fires lighted on all the heights; but though these directions were strictly observed, and many an anxious look cast for the space of two months, they did not make their appearance. All hopes were then given up, and there was afterwards too much reason to suppose that the party had fallen into the hands of the savages on the continent, and been cut off. The chiefs of the expedition therefore determined to set about preparing a new pinnace with such materials as the islands afforded. The only materials which they could procure were cedar-wood, a barrel of pitch, one of tar, and cordage saved from the wreck. There was a good ship-carpenter from Gravesend, but great difficulty was found in commanding the services of the crew, among whom the late catastrophe had much relaxed the bonds of discipline. To induce them to persevere, Gates and Somers not only kept regular watch, but set the example of labouring with their own hands. While the larger vessel was being built, the latter officer undertook, with a party of twenty, to construct another on a separate island.

Their utmost exertions did not prevent disturbances, which nearly baffled the enterprise—these were fomented by individuals noted for their religious zeal, though suspected of puritan principles, and the accompanying spirit of independence.

They represented that the recent disaster had dissolved the authority of the governor, and their business was now to provide, as they best could, for themselves and their families. They had come out in search of an easy and plentiful subsistence, which could no where be found in greater perfection and security than here, while in Virginia its attainment was not only doubtful, but attended with many hardships. These arguments wrought so powerfully on the great body of the men, that had it rested with them they would have lived and died on the islands.

Two successive conspiracies were formed by large parties to separate from the rest, and form a colony. Both, however, were defeated by the vigilance of Gates, who, on professions of penitence, allowed the ringleaders to escape with a slight punishment. This lenity only emboldened the malcontents, and a third plot was formed to arm, seize the stores, and take entire possession of the islands. Gates, though he did not obtain the full clue to the conspiracy, had intimation sufficient to induce precautions which frustrated its execution. One Payne, however, showed such insubordination, and broke forth into such violent expressions, that it was determined to make an example of him. He was condemned to be hanged, but on the plea of being a gentleman, his sentence was commuted into that of being shot, which was immediately done. His comrades were so terrified, that they fled into the woods, where they endeavoured to obtain permission

to remain, but this Gates refused, and Somers had the address to persuade them all to return, except two, one of whom had been guilty of murder.

About the end of March, more than eight months after their shipwreck, the pinnacle was completed. She was forty feet long, nineteen broad, and measured about eighty tons. The vessel built under the superintendence of Sir George Somers was only twenty-nine feet long, and measured about thirty tons; she was fastened entirely with wood, having only one piece of metal in her, which was an iron bolt in her keel. To prevent their leaking, the two vessels now built were like that constructed by May's companions, payed over the seams with a mixture of lime and tortoise-oil.*

Two children, a boy and a girl, were born during this period, the former was christened Bermudas and the latter Bermuda.

Before leaving the islands, Gates caused a cross to be made of the wood saved from the wreck of his ship, which he secured to a large cedar. A silver coin, with the king's head, was placed in the middle of it, together with an inscription on a copper-plate, describing what had happened—"That the cross was the remains of a ship of 300 tons, called the Sea-Venture, bound with eight more to Virginia. That she contained two knights, Sir Thomas Gates, governor of the colony, and Sir George Summers, admiral of the seas, who, together with her captain,

* The first was called the Deliverance, and the last the Patience.

Christopher Newport, and 150 mariners and passengers besides, had got safe ashore, when she was lost, 28th July, 1609."

On the 10th May, 1610, they sailed with a fair wind, and before reaching the open sea, they struck upon a rock, which had nearly frustrated all their labours, but being very soft it yielded, and was broken by the vessel. On the 21st they descried land, which was not far from Cape Henry, at the entrance of the Chesapeake, and on the 23rd they anchored in front of Jamestown. This settlement they found in a most precarious condition, and so destitute were they of food, that it was resolved to abandon the place. This was prevented by the arrival of Lord Delaware, with three ships, after the colonists had actually embarked. This nobleman, upon the report of Gates and Somers, determined to send to the Bermudas for the purpose of forming a settlement, from which supplies might be obtained for the Jamestown colony. This task was undertaken by Somers, whose name was then given to the islands, though the original one of Bermuda has since prevailed. Sir George sailed on the 19th June, in his cedar vessel,* in company with Captain Argall, afterwards governor of Virginia. Contrary winds carried them northward to the vicinity of Cape Cod, where they were involved in such dense fogs that the two vessels were separated, and Argall returned to his station. Somers

* Smith's History of Virginia, &c., vol. ii, p. 123.

persevered, and reached the islands, but age, anxiety and exertion, contributed to produce his end. Perceiving the approach of death, he exhorted his companions to continue their exertions for the benefit of the plantations, and to return to Virginia. Alarmed at the untimely fate of their indefatigable leader, the colonists embalmed his body and, disregarding his dying injunction, sailed for England.*

Three of the men volunteered to remain, whose names were Christopher Carter, Edward Waters, and Edward Chard. For some time after their companions left, these men continued to cultivate the soil, but unfortunately they found a large quantity of ambergris, and they fell into innumerable quarrels respecting its possession. They at length resolved to build a boat and sail for New-

* The body was buried at Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire, but the heart and bowels of the gallant old admiral were interred on the spot where the town of St. George now stands, and a little wooden cross erected to mark the place. This was accidentally discovered in 1619, by Governor Nathaniel Butler, who, considering this too trifling and perishable a monument, caused it to be enclosed with a stone-wall, and a marble slab to be laid over the remains, with this inscription :—

“ In the yeere 1 6 1 1
 Noble Sir George Summers went hence to heaven,
 Whose well-tried worth that held him still imploid
 Gave him the knowledge of the world so wide;
 Hence 'twas by Heaven's decree that to this place
 He brought new guests and name to mutual grace;
 At last his soul and body being to part,
 He here bequeathed his entrails and his heart.”

Tradition still points out a narrow enclosure, at the bottom of the government-house garden, as the place, and in the midst of rubbish and weeds, a mutilated slab of a coarse description of stone may be distinguished. This is said to be the monument erected by Governor Butler; but is neither marble nor has it any record graven upon it. It is hardly

foundland with their prize, but, happily for them, they were prevented by the arrival of a ship from Europe.

An extraordinary interest was excited in England by the relation of Captain Mathew Somers, the nephew and heir of Sir George. The usual exaggerations were published, and public impressions were heightened by contrast with the dark ideas formerly prevalent. Jourdan proclaims "That this dangerous and enchanted place which had been shunned as a Scylla and Charybdis, and where no one had ever landed but against his will, was really the richest, healthfullest, and most pleasing land ever man set foot on."

These reports, together with the advantages of the place to their plantation, induced the Virginia Company to procure an extension of their charter,

possible that letters or figures could be cut on the slab now exhibited, although the expression used by Smith, "fixed it upon," may have meant that the inscription was graven on a plate. In May, 1819, Admiral Sir David Milne, with the mayor and magistrates of St. George, repaired to the place and opened the vault, together with one near the spot in the same enclosure, with this inscription :—

CHARLOTTE HOPE

Posuit

JOHANNE HOPE

Praefectus

24th June, 1726.

They found nothing in Sir George's vault but the fragments of an opaque glass bottle, some decayed bones and a pebble. It is probable that the remains of the knight were buried without ceremony, and had returned to dust. As the two monuments were very roughly handled at the time and left in a more delapidated state than when disturbed, it is questionable if this violation of the sanctity of the grave can be termed any thing better than wanton curiosity. A subscription was projected at the time for enclosing the place, and erecting a suitable memorial ; but it was never done, and the broken stones remain a reproach to the authorities.

to embrace the Bermudas in their limits.* This was granted by King James I., and was dated, 12th March, 1612. They shortly after sold the islands to one hundred and twenty gentlemen, who detached themselves from the Virginia Proprietors for the purpose, and formed a company under the name and style of "The Governor and Company of the City of London, for the Plantation of the Somer Islands."

A grant was easily obtained from King James, † and a constitution framed by which the land was to be divided into four hundred shares of twenty-five acres each, to be held by private proprietors, while the surplus was to remain public, to be disposed of at the discretion of the Company. The profits of cultivation were to be divided in fair proportions between the owners and their tenants. The latter were, however, made little better than serfs, as they were not permitted to leave the soil without their master's consent, and if, instead of fully improving it, they preferred any other occupation, they were to pay them half their earnings. Out of the public lands two acres, at two shillings rent, were allowed

* Robertson's History of America, vol. ii, book ix, sec. xliii, p. 307. "All the islands lying within three hundred leagues of the coast were annexed to the province of Virginia. In consequence of this, the Company took possession of the Bermudas, and the other small islands discovered by Gates and Summers." A copy of the Charter in question is in the Editor's possession.

† The existence of this document has been much disputed, and the Editor is indebted to the kindness of Governor Reid and the Solicitor-General of Bermuda, for the copy in the Appendix, A. It was found among the Archives of the Record Office, London.

to every handicraft settler ; these, and a number of other regulations, were contained in a book of orders sent out by the Company for the guidance of the deputy governors.

Severe rules were laid down "against idle and vain persons, drunkards and those who spent their time in carding and dicing," while those, who in bravery of apparel exceeded their means, "were ordained to pay double to the public burdens." There was to be an Assembly every two years, without whose consent no taxes could be imposed ; arrangements which were not, however, completed until after a considerable lapse of time.*

On the 28th of April, 1612, the first ship was sent out with sixty emigrants, under the charge of Mr. Richard Moore, who was appointed governor of the colony.† They had a favourable voyage, and on the 11th July in the morning, they came in view of their "hoped and desired islands," and in the afternoon of the same day, the whole party were landed on the south-side of Smith's Island. They were met by the boat containing Chard and his two companions, who were overjoyed at seeing the ship, and conducted her into the harbour.‡ It was not long before intelligence of the ambergris reached the governor, who forthwith called on Chard to produce

* Murray's *British America*, vol. ii, p. 152.

† Appendix, B. All the governors under the Company held their offices under persons termed governors in England, and selected by the Lords Proprietors, consequently, Mr. Moore and his successors, were styled Deputy-Governors.

‡ Smith's *History of Virginia, &c.*, vol. ii, p. 120.

it. He denied all knowledge of it, but after leaving Moore, he proposed to the captain of the ship (Davis) and one Edwin Kendall, a man of considerable influence, to make their way to England and divide the prize. This they both agreed to, and the time for carrying their intention into execution was named; but Chard, alarmed lest the plan should be discovered, or afraid of the honesty of his companions, revealed the whole to the governor. In order to possess himself of this valuable commodity, Mr. Moore was compelled to dissemble, and he began by quietly, but kindly, reproving Kendall for his part in the transaction. Backed by Davis, the latter replied with considerable warmth, and the governor determined to enforce his authority, committed both him and Chard to prison. The following Sunday, Davis was severely reprimanded by Moore, and threatened also with confinement. This he bore patiently whilst on shore, and surrounded by the governor's adherents, but on his return to his ship, he armed his crew, and in his turn declared that he would set the prisoners free and take the ambergris. Moore promptly prepared to resist him, and a bloody quarrel seemed about to commence, when Davis, unwilling to engage in a doubtful contest, and alarmed at the consequences of his rash conduct, requested that the governor would overlook the matter and be reconciled. Kendall was set at liberty, but Chard, as the author of the disturbance, was condemned to be hanged, and was only reprieved when on the ladder.

Although Moore succeeded in quelling this serious mutiny, he could only obtain a part of the disputed ambergris, as Davis and Kendall succeeded in secreting a considerable portion of it, with which they returned to England.

The governor now applied himself actively to his duties, and finding the proposed site of the town inferior to one on a neighbouring island, he removed to the spot where the town of St. George now stands, and having built a cabin, which he thatched with palmetto leaves, as a residence, the rest of the colonists soon followed his example. He laid the foundation of eight or nine forts for the defence of the harbour, and built a church of cedar, which, however, having been blown down by a tempest, he erected another of palmetto leaves in a place better sheltered from the weather. He also trained the men to arms, in order that they might defend the settlement if attacked. These things, though necessary, kept the people hard at work, and as they prevented their exertions for private benefit, they caused great dissatisfaction. These murmurs were disregarded until the clergyman, Mr. Keith, a Scotchman, and a man of influence, either to court popularity, or solicited by some of the people, denounced the governor from the pulpit, charging him with grinding the faces of the poor, and compared his exactions to the oppressions of Pharaoh. Moore, with his usual decision, called the colonists together, and in the presence of the offender, urged them to state their grievances and causes of com-

plaint against him. This resolute conduct had the desired effect, as they all denied having accused him of oppressing them, and declared their full confidence in him. Perceiving that he was deserted, Keith fell on his knees and entreated forgiveness of the governor, who raised him and desired him to humble himself to his God, and in future to be more just and charitable in his judgments.* This lenient conduct was shortly after followed by the open mutiny of two other persons, who declared that they would maintain the assertions against Mr. Moore. With great apparent reluctance he empanelled a jury, and at the same time quietly observed that he would hang the delinquents if they were condemned. Aware of the determined character of the man with whom they were dealing, they were so alarmed that one of them was palsied; the other was set at liberty, and proved afterwards a good labourer.

At the end of the year, a vessel arrived from England, bringing stores and thirty passengers, with orders from the Company to the governor to send the ambergris found by Chard, and also to prepare to defend the colony against any attempt of the Spaniards who threatened to attack it. Moore justly suspecting that the ambergris was the chief inducement for sending out vessels, and aware that the Company would not permit them to come empty, determined to make the most of the magnet to

* Smith's History of Virginia, &c., vol. ii, p. 128.

procure colonists and supplies, and accordingly shipped one-third of it. Before the return of this ship, they again sent the *Martha* with sixty passengers, and one Bartlett to survey the islands, with pressing instructions to the governor to forward the ambergris. Mr. Moore shipped the second part, and the ship returned to England, leaving a Frenchman to attempt the cultivation of the mulberry and the breeding of the silk-worm, in which he did not succeed. The cautious conduct of the governor and his disobedience of their positive orders, gave great offence to the Proprietors, who forthwith dispatched the *Elizabeth*, with forty passengers, and a severe reprimand for Moore, who was also directed to deliver the ambergris, with which he complied. The first potatoe-roots were brought to the islands in this ship, and as the soil was suitable, they produced abundantly. Shortly after, however, owing to great negligence, the whole stock was lost, but two plants, which were carefully cultivated, until they were again spread throughout the settlement.*

In 1614, two Spanish ships attempted to enter the harbour; the forts were promptly manned, and two shots fired at the enemy, who finding them better prepared than they imagined, bore away. This was a fortunate circumstance, as these two shots exhausted the scanty magazine of the colonists.

* Smith's History of Virginia, &c., vol. ii, p. 129. Unfortunately the historian does not say what description of potatoe-roots these were.

Before the close of 1615, six vessels had arrived with three hundred and forty passengers, among whom were a marshal and one Bartlett, who was sent out expressly to divide the colony into tribes and shares ; but the governor, finding no mention of any shares for himself and the persons with him, as had been agreed on, forbade his proceeding with the survey, and he returned to England. One vessel, along with her cargo of flour, brought rats, which increased so rapidly, mounting trees and swimming from island to island, that they soon filled the whole group, distroying every crop which the people attempted to raise. At the end of about four years, after doing incredible mischief, they disappeared, owing, as Norwood insists, to a special miracle ; but the occasion seems scarcely to have required such interposition, as the incessant pursuit with cats, dogs, and snares of every description, appears sufficiently to account for the happy result. For two years it is said that the colonists never tasted bread, and had ceased to consider it a necessary of life. Want and toil gave rise to an epidemic, originating almost entirely in weakness, under which numbers sank. The famine and misery caused the governor to distribute the people among the islands, which proved very beneficial to the settlement. Some time after, the *Welcome* arrived with stores, and Moore, whose time had expired, sailed in her for England, leaving the administration of the government to six persons, who were to rule, each in turn, one month. Their names were Miles

Kendall, John Mansfield, Thomas Knight, Charles Caldicot, Edward Waters, and Christopher Carter.

Governor Moore was a man of ordinary condition, being a carpenter, but in every respect he showed the prudence of the choice of the Proprietors, who owed every thing to his sagacity, firmness, and prudence.

CHAPTER II.

Administrations of Caldicot—John Mansfield—Christopher Carter—Miles Kendall—John Mansfield—Governors Daniel Tucker—Miles Kendall—Nathaniel Butler—Administrations of Felgate, Stokes and others—Governors John Barnard—John Harrison—Henry Woodhouse—Bell—Wood—Chaddock—Turner—Forster—Sayle—Seymour—Sir John Heydon—Seymour.

IMMEDIATELY after Mr. Moore left the colony, (1615) the council appointed by him to administer the government, proceeded to elect by lot their first ruler. Their choice fell upon Caldicot, who liberated Chard, and having prepared a vessel with a crew of thirty-two men, he embarked for the West Indies for the purpose of procuring plants, goats, and young cattle for the islands. This expedition proved very unfortunate, as the vessel foundered on her arrival in the West Indies, and the crew were indebted to an English pirate for being rescued from the desert island on which they had been cast.

Captain John Mansfield succeeded Caldicot in the government, to whom, and his colleagues, a petition was presented from a party of the colonists, praying them to hold the government until six months after the expedition to the West Indies,

and entreating them not to permit themselves to be superseded until the expiration of that period. This unwarrantable proceeding was strongly opposed by Lewis Hughes, one of the clergymen, who saw the impropriety and impolicy of the step. As the petition appears to have been an intrigue of the persons to whom it was addressed, his opposition gave great offence to Mansfield and his colleagues, and produced a warm dispute among the people generally, as many supported Hughes. The governor caused him to be tried and imprisoned, but shortly after he released him. Keith sided with Mansfield, and as Hughes continued to denounce the memorial, notwithstanding his incarceration, both parties repaired to the church, where it was resolved by the governor to arrest the refractory clergyman; but a sudden storm of wind and rain which arose was considered to be a miracle by the majority of persons present, and the dispute was adjourned. Hughes was, however, again confined and discharged.

The two following months, under the rule of Carter and Miles Kendall, passed quietly, and Mansfield again assumed the command. Previous to leaving, Governor Moore had directed the council to call twelve men to their aid to assist them in the execution of their duties. From an unwillingness to divide their power by admitting others to participate with them in the executive office, they had neglected to do this, and the malcontents, headed by Hughes, demanded that the instructions

left them, should be strictly adhered to. The governor refused to comply with this request, and for a time the colony was torn by contention. The news of these dissensions having reached the Company, they appointed Captain Daniel Tucker, governor of the plantation. He had been a planter in Virginia, and they considered him, in consequence, best calculated to develop the resources of the islands. Having been strictly enjoined to carry their plans into execution, he left England in 1616, in the *George*, accompanied by the *Edwin*, both of which carried out passengers.

On his arrival, his ships were at first mistaken for the expedition under Caldicot, but when it was ascertained that one of them had on board a governor appointed by the Proprietors, Mansfield determined to resist his authority and dispute his landing; but he was disappointed in the people, many of whom were, no doubt, glad to see an officer with sufficient authority to suppress all dissensions. Finding that no reliance was to be placed on his men, Mr. Mansfield surrendered to Governor Tucker, who landed, and having read his commission* was received, and his authority acknowledged.

Captain Tucker arrived in May, 1616, and not only found the affairs of the settlement in great confusion, but the inhabitants indisposed to cultivate the soil. A long period of unpunished turbulence had rendered them unwilling to be commanded,

* Appendix C.

and his orders were disregarded or obedience refused. Vigorous measures were adopted by the governor to compel the people to perform the various works directed by the Company, and superintendents were appointed, who received their orders from Tucker in person. The provisions and stores he issued in certain quantities, and paid each labourer a stated sum in brass coin, struck by the Proprietors for the purpose, having on one side the figure of a hog, in commemoration of the abundance of those animals found by the first settlers, and on the reverse a ship.*

Mr. Richard Norwood, who had been sent out during the administration of Governor Moore, was employed to survey the islands, and divide them into tribes and shares.† This being completed, Tucker sent parties of the inhabitants to occupy the waste lands, and appointed select persons as bailiffs. The effect of these judicious measures were soon felt throughout the settlement, which now began to show symptoms of improvement and prosperity. In the second month of his administration, Governor Tucker directed warrants to the bailiffs for the purpose of holding a general court of assize at St. George. The most important trial was that of John Wood, a Frenchman, who was found guilty of speaking "many distasteful and mutinous speeches against the governor," for which

* A piece of this curious money is in the Bermuda Museum, at Hamilton. It is singular that the Company themselves called it base coin.

† Appendix D.

he was condemned to be hanged—the sentence was approved and the offender executed.* This severe judgment is recorded by Smith without comment, and it would appear that Governor Tucker considered it necessary to make an example of the first culprit in order to convince the colonists that his authority over them was of the most ample nature.

The discipline to which they were subjected and the hard labour required of the people whose condition, as we have stated, was little better than that of slaves, caused many to make desperate efforts to escape from the islands. Five persons† having voluntarily tendered their services to the governor, to build him a decked fishing-boat of three tons, he was so much pleased at what he supposed to be the good effects of Wood's sentence, that he readily gave his consent, and furnished them with the necessary materials to complete and fit her. Choosing a retired place, they accomplished the work, and one of the party (Barker) having borrowed a compass of Hughes, for whom he left a facetious note, recommending patience under the loss,‡ they put to sea, and directed their course homeward. Three weeks after they sailed, they encountered a heavy storm, but their boat weathered it bravely. Some days after they met a French picaroon, of

* Smith's History of Virginia, &c., vol. ii, p. 137.

† Their names were Richard Saunders, William Godwin, Thomas Harrison, James Barker and Henry Puet, not one of whom was a sailor.

‡ Mr. Hughes had preached several sermons on patience about this time.

whom they asked assistance, but he plundered them and left them to their fate. Though reduced to great extremity for want of provisions, they pushed on, and were even obliged to hew away half of the knees of the vessel for firewood. To their great joy they at length reached the coast of Ireland, where their exploit was considered so wonderful, that the Earl of Thomond caused them to be received and entertained, and hung up their boat as a monument of this extraordinary voyage.* The governor was greatly exasperated at their escape, and threatened to hang the whole if they returned. Another party of three, one of whom was a lady, attempted in the same manner to reach Virginia, but were never afterwards heard of. Six others were discovered before they effected their departure, and one was executed.

Shortly after his arrival, Governor Tucker had dispatched the Edwin to the West Indies for plants and fruit trees, and about this period she returned, with the fig, pine-apple, sugar-cane, plantain and papaw, which were all immediately planted, and rapidly multiplied. This vessel also brought an Indian and a negro.†

The Company dispatched a small bark called the Hopewell, with supplies for the colony, under the command of Captain Powell, who was a good seaman, and well acquainted with the West Indies,

* Smith's History of Virginia, &c., vol. ii, p. 137—138. Murray's British America, vol. ii, p. 155.

† These were the first slaves brought to the islands, and they became very general as early as 1632.

where he was to proceed from Bermuda. On his way to the Western Islands, he met with a Portuguese vessel, homeward-bound from Brazil, with a cargo of sugar. Having appropriated some of the lading to his own use and, as Smith adds, "liked the sugar and passengers so well," he made her a prize, and having put a part of his crew on board, and taken the crew of the prize in his own ship, he proceeded on his voyage. Upon reflection, he found there would be some difficulty in excusing this piratical proceeding on his arrival at Bermuda, and, no doubt, disliking the idea of facing Governor Tucker, he decided on proceeding direct to the West Indies, to give himself time to consider what was the best course to pursue. On his arrival there, he encountered a French rover, who pretended to have a warm regard for him, and invited him with his officers to an entertainment. Suspecting nothing, he accepted the invitation, but no sooner had they been well seated at table, than they were all seized, and threatened with instant death unless they surrendered their prize. This, Powell was of course compelled to do, and he had the mortification to see the wily Frenchman sail away with the capture. Finding his provisions failing him, he put the Portuguese crew on shore, and sailed for Bermuda, where he managed to excuse himself to the governor.

The Proprietors having been informed that many whales were seen about the islands, during the months of January, February, and March, sent the

ship Neptune provided with everything requisite for capturing fish and making oil. This the Governor had already attempted without success, although the boats succeeded in killing several.

Powell again arrived in May, from the West Indies, with three prizes laden with meal, hides, and ammunition. Tucker received him kindly and treated him with great consideration, until he had the goods in his own possession, when he altered his manner, and reproaching the Captain with his piratical conduct, called him to account for his proceedings; the unlucky buccaneer was, in the end, glad to escape to England, leaving his prizes in the hands of the Governor. Information of this event had no sooner reached the Company than they ordered Tucker to surrender the goods and ships, which he was compelled to do.

A Court was called for the purpose of trying a man named Gabriel for concealing mutinous speeches made by two persons, Pollard and Rich. The offence consisted in the latter persons accusing the Governor of injustice and cruelty; preposterous as it may appear, the man was actually tried, condemned, and only reprieved when on the ladder, for the crime of neglecting to give information of the observations, when Pollard and Rich, who uttered the calumny, suffered a very brief imprisonment.*

Norwood's survey was now completed, and shares were assigned to each adventurer;† the land reserved

* Smith's History of Virginia, &c., vol. ii, p. 143.

† After laying out the stipulated number of shares of twenty-five acres each, there remained two hundred and seven acres of the finest land in the

as commons, to be disposed of for general purposes, consisted of the islands of St. George, St. David, Longbridge, Smiths, Coopers, and Nonsuch, together with a part of the main island. The remainder of the colony was divided into eight tribes, Bedford or Hamilton, Smith's, Cavendish or Devonshire, Pembroke, Paget's, Mansil's or Warwick, Southampton and Sand's.* Each tribe was again divided into fifty shares which were determined by lot to the Proprietors in England.†

The *Diana* arrived from the Company with a supply of stores and men, and after remaining a few weeks

colony, situated in the Parish or Tribe of Southampton; this was called by Norwood the overplus, and he was accused of partiality for Governor Tucker, who, shortly after the division and allotment, persuaded the people to build a fine house on this reserved land, which was no sooner finished than he took possession of it for his own use. At page 61 of his explanatory book, Norwood comments on the circumstance and explains it by saying that the Governor and Council were very anxious to forward the survey by the Magazine Ship, then about to sail for England, and he had only reached the Parish of Pembroke on his course upward. The islands were at that time chiefly overrun with rats, which destroyed the corn of the previous year, and the Governor and Council decided that it was necessary to plant the crop for the year in question on the Island of Somerset, as it was the only place of any size free from the dreaded vermin; they therefore ordered Mr. Norwood to abandon his survey in Pembroke and commence again at the extreme end of Somerset, in order that the fences might be put up at once, and each person know his boundary, to avoid the confusion and injury to the growing crop consequent on a survey after it was in progress; he remonstrated against this and pointed out the impropriety; but he was forced to obey, and after surveying and allotting Somerset he returned to his point in Pembroke, which left the overplus in the upper part of the Parish of Southampton, now included in Sandys.

* They were named in compliment to the Marquis of Hamilton, Sir Thomas Smith, the Earls of Devonshire, Pembroke, Warwick, and Southampton, Lord Paget and Sir Edwin Sands.

† Appendix, D.

returned to England with 30,000 pounds of tobacco, which gave great satisfaction to the Proprietors.

Many heavy complaints were forwarded by this ship against Governor Tucker, which were, however, overlooked by the Adventurers, who dispatched the *Blessing* with supplies and flattering letters. Notwithstanding this, the report of the passengers and private correspondence prepared him for a change, and having appointed Kendall his deputy he sailed for England. The stern measures enforced by Governor Tucker, particularly in causing the punishment of death to be inflicted for offences comparatively trifling, may have been the result of authority granted by the Crown by the advice of Sir Francis Bacon, who recommended that the Governor of the Virginia Plantations should be empowered to rule by martial law, a short code of which, founded on the practice of the Low Countries, the most rigid military school at that time in Europe, they sent out with him ;* or he may have found it necessary, as we have before said, to make severe examples in order to cause the colonists to respect his authority ; certain it is that the islands materially improved during his vigorous administration of its affairs.

Kendall was disposed to be attentive to the duties of his office ; but he wanted energy, and the Company took an early opportunity to inform him, by the *Sea-Flower*, that Captain Nathaniel Butler was appointed to relieve him ; this information was not very agreeable to the people, but they did not offer any resistance.

* Robertson's History of America, vol. ii, book ix, sec. xlii.

Governor Butler arrived on the 20th of October, 1619, with four ships and five hundred men, and Kendall, with the council and clergymen, repaired on board the Warwick to receive him. Two days after he landed, and having made a short speech to the assembled colonists assumed the command.

The two clergymen of the place were deeply imbued with Puritan principles and refused to subscribe to the Book of Common Prayer; this the Governor remedied by prevailing on them to adopt the Liturgy of Guernsey and Jersey, in which the objectionable portions were omitted; on the Easter-day following he caused the oldest of the two to commence its use in the church at St. George, and he, with his officers and council, received the sacrament.

It was Butler's desire to assimilate the government as nearly as possible to the mother country, and at the second assize held by him he carried his intention into effect. There were eighteen criminal cases—a large number when, from the closest computation, the population could not have exceeded one thousand. Some of the offenders were sentenced to be whipped, others to be branded in the hand, and two to be hanged—one of the last was reprieved, but his companion suffered the extreme penalty of the law. These judgments appear to have been authorized by the Order-book of the Company, already mentioned, which has unfortunately been lost; the regulations contained in it must have been most severe in their nature, as sentence of death was frequently pronounced for offences which would now be scarcely noticed.

On the 1st of August, 1620, in conformity with the instructions of the Company, the Governor summoned the first general assembly at St. George, for the dispatch of public business; it was composed of His Excellency, the Council, and Burgesses, with a Secretary to whom all bills were presented and by whom they were openly read in the House, and a Clerk to record the Acts;* thirty-two laws were enacted, but fifteen only were approved of by the Proprietors in England.†

An order was, about this time, received from the Company forbidding the inhabitants to receive any ships but such as were commissioned by them; this oppressive regulation caused general discontent throughout the islands.

Butler now proposed to return to England by way of Virginia, and the colonists prepared a memorial, setting forth their grievances, which they requested

* Smith's History of Virginia, &c., vol. ii, p. 155.

† They were as follows:—1. Against the unjust sale of apprentices and other servants. 2. Regulating the disposal of aged and diseased persons. 3. The necessary garrisoning of King's Castle with twelve men, and providing them with 3000 ears of corn, and 1000 pounds of tobacco, yearly, at the public expense. 4. Against making unmerchantable tobacco, and providing sworn inspectors. 5. To provide for the erection of public bridges, and keeping them in repair. 6. To provide for victualling the forts. 7. To regulate the time for holding the Court of Assize. 8. To regulate the public roads and prevent trespassing. 9. To preserve young turtle and birds. 10. To prevent vagrants, and to prohibit harbouring servants. 11. To compel every family to sow a certain quantity of grain. 12. To compel the colonists to shut up their poultry until the corn could not be injured by them. 13. To preserve fences, and prevent the felling of trees marked as boundaries. 14. Authorizing a levy of 1000 pounds of tobacco in payment of public lands. 15. To regulate the succession of the Lieutenant-Governor.

him to present on his arrival. They complained of the bondage of their children if the parents died in debt,* and of a want of clergymen. They bitterly inveighed against the practice of compelling them to purchase goods from the Company's magazine at most exorbitant rates, when the price at which they were compelled to sell their staple, tobacco, was fixed at a low market value.† Governor Butler, after a popular administration, placed the government in the hands of Captains Felgate and Stocks, and Messrs. Lewis, Hewes, Nedom, and Ginner, and sailed for Virginia. Eight days after (1622), a gentleman of the name of John Barnard arrived to relieve him, with two ships and one hundred and forty passengers, stores and arms. He entered upon his duties with activity and zeal, but unfortunately both he and his wife died six weeks after their arrival, to the great regret of the people, and were both buried on the same day.

The people elected Captain John Harrison to succeed him; but the Company commissioned Captain Henry Woodhouse in the following year (1623). The excessive rigour exercised by the Proprietors in collecting their revenues, produced so much fraud, and the complaints, not only from home, but made to the Governor and Council of the improper quality of tobacco tendered, were so unceasing, that Woodhouse was at last compelled to enforce the penalties of fines and imprisonments with the utmost severity.

* If the parents died in debt their children were sold as bondmen until the amount was paid.

† Settled at 2s. 6d. or about 1s. 6d. sterling.

In September, 1626, Governor Woodhouse was succeeded by Captain Philip Bell, and the former sailed immediately for America. Many complaints were made against him on his return shortly after, but as they were chiefly in consequence of the strict manner in which he performed his duties when in office, little notice was taken of them.

Captain Roger Wood relieved Governor Bell in 1629. The colony now contained a population of between two and three thousand, which was rapidly on the increase. Chesteven, after speaking of the flourishing condition of the place at this period, adds, that "to be briefe, this Isle is an excellent bit to rule a great horse."* One would almost fancy him to have been gifted with the spirit of a prophet, so completely has his prediction been verified.

After a popular administration, Captain Thomas Chaddocke succeeded Governor Wood, and he again was succeeded by Captain Turner, in 1642.

In consequence of instructions from England, His Excellency called upon all the inhabitants of the islands to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance to His Majesty, but as great numbers of the colonist had left their native country on account of their republican sentiments, they refused to comply, and the prisons were soon filled to overflowing with the malcontents. This persecution had, however, been anticipated, though in a different manner, as the various Dissenters, who had reason to expect the severest treatment, had already

* Smith's History of Virginia, vol. 2, p. 261.

petitioned the authorities at home for liberty of worship.

Previously to the receipt of this memorial, the two houses of Parliament had on the 2nd of November, 1643, constituted the Earl of Warwick Governor-in-chief, and Lord High Admiral of the colonies in America, and had associated with him in that office most of the leading men of the day, among whom were Oliver Cromwell, Sir Arthur Haseling, and John Pym.

The House of Commons promptly granted the petition, 27th of October, 1645, and the Earl of Warwick and his colleagues, by an instrument dated 4th of November following, also assented.* The rapid change of affairs in England, together with these documents, which soon reached the colony, opened the doors of the prisons and stopped all persecution, both political and religious.

Governor Turner was succeeded by Captain Josia Foster, in 1653, who, after a peaceful administration of five years, was, in turn, relieved by Captain William Sayle, on the 3rd of February, 1658.

It cannot be clearly ascertained when slaves were first introduced to any extent. As early as 1632 they are mentioned in the Court Records, and consisted chiefly of Indians. Many negroes were soon introduced from Africa and the West Indies, and the laws for their government were strict in the extreme. About this period there are instances of their being hung, drawn, and quartered for stealing. The colony was

* Appendix, F.

at this time visited by Edmund Waller, the poet, who is said then to have written his "Battle of the Somer Isles."* Waller was a member of the Long Parliament, and at first joined the party against the King, but afterwards entered into the conspiracy against the Parliament, for which Chaloner and Tompkins were executed. Waller was fortunate enough to escape by paying a fine of £10,000. Having spent some time in the Bermudas, he proceeded to France, and on the elevation of Cromwell to the Protectorship, he returned to England.

The Company had at an early period established schools throughout the colony, and appropriated lands in most of the parishes or tribes for the maintenance of the teachers. These lands, which were increased by legacies, were sold on leases, subject to an annual rent, payable in tobacco. Under Governor Sayle's administration, these schools were generally flourishing and prosperous.†

In October, 1661, the Protestant inhabitants were alarmed by rumours of a proposed combination between the Negroes and the Irish. The plan was to

* Johnson in his "Lives of the Poets," denies that Waller was ever in the Bermudas; but, many authors assert that he was. Moore quotes the "Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. ii," which confidently affirms it. It must, however, be admitted that Waller's name never once occurs in the records of the colony at that period.

† The attention paid by the Proprietors to the education of the colonists is almost the only creditable part of their policy. They also established public libraries throughout the islands; some few of the books belonging to which have occasionally been met with in the present century.

arm themselves and massacre the whites who where not Catholics. Fortunately this plot was discovered in time, and measures were adopted to disarm the slaves and disaffected, whilst a strict watch was established throughout the islands.

In April, 1662, a complaint was made to the Governor and Council (who appear to have decided the smallest offences,) against one Thomas Wotton for fishing at the Flats on the Sabbath. He was found guilty and sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes at the church-door on the following Sunday, immediately after service. This was afterwards commuted into being placed in the stocks, in Pagets, on a lecture day. Drunkenness was constituted a crime, and persons guilty of intoxication were gravely tried by a jury and apparently punished at their discretion. The usual sentence was, "to be censured and made infamous;" but in what way this was done the records do not state.*

Captain Sayle was relieved by Governor Florentius Seymour on the 13th of January, 1663, by warrant from the Company.

A severe shock of an earthquake was felt throughout the colony on the morning of the 25th of June, 1664. It appears to have been momentary, as no actual damage was sustained. In the books of the parish of Southampton, the following is the notice taken of it:—"Upon the 25th day of June, Anno 1664, being the Sabbath Day, at 9 of the clock in

* Had spirituous liquors been as abundant then as at the present period, the juries would have found ample employment.

the forenoon, there was a great and fearful earthquake, which did shake churches and houses, yea, and the hearts of men too."

The war with the Dutch induced one Captain John Wentworth to apply to the Governor and Council for permission to cruise against that nation in his ship called the Charles. This was at first refused, on the ground of a want of authority to grant commissions; but the objection was finally overruled, and he succeeded on the 11th of October, 1665, in obtaining permission. He shortly after made a decent upon the island of Tortola and brought off about ninety slaves, with whom he returned to Bermuda. These negroes happened to be the property of the governor of the place, who afterwards finding one Ewin, a Bermudian, at St. Christophers, made him the bearer of the following letter to Governor Seymour, demanding the immediate restitution of his property, in default of which he threatened to equip an armament for the capture of the islands.

"St. Christophers, the 4th of November, 1665.

"My Lord—Soe soon as I could have occation, soe have I taken the paynes to write a few lines unto you, ffor upon the 9th day of July this yeare there came hither against me a pirate or sea-robber, named John Wentworth, the which overrun my lands by night and that against the will of mine owne inhabits. and shewed himself as a tyrant in robbing and firing, and took my negroes from my Isld. belonged to no man but myself; and I declare unto you that I have not in

the least to do with the States of Holland, and that I am a free lord in my owne Isld. and have wars with noe man in the world. And likewise I doe understand that this said Jo. Wentworth a sea-robber is an indweller with you, soe I desire you that you would punish this rogue according to your good law. But do you heare ; and if my State sallory cease by fault of this I shall be forst to be revenged of you and your land.

“ And if it were soe well that we should be in peace with your nation, soe I shall nevertheless not desist to be revenged of you ; also an honest governor is obliged to punish the evil doers, namely a sea-robber, that sails without a commission.

“ I desire you soe soon as you have this truth of mine, if you dont of yourself restore all my negroes againe wherefore I shall stay here three months, and in default of this, soe be assured that wee shall speake together very shortly, and then I will be my owne judge.

“ Governor, yours,

“ WILLIAM HONITON.

“ To the Lord, My Lord Fflorentia Seymour,

“ Governor, Bermudah.”

This curious and contradictory epistle caused the greatest consternation, and immediate steps were taken to place the colony in the best posture for defence, whilst Ewin (who had indulged in the most indiscreet language), was committed to prison for presuming to see the defiance written.

A number of Quakers had emigrated to the colony, in the hopes of enjoying religious toleration ; but they were persecuted by fines, imprisonments, and banishment for refusing to attend divine service in the parish churches, and, finally, the Company prohibited their landing by a general order.* The habits of this sect induced them to submit to oppression, almost without murmuring ; but the stern and dark-souled Puritans who emigrated to the place at this period, and for the same purpose, appeared to have been permitted to exercise freedom of worship without molestation.†

* See Early Records of the Colony, where many of the details are given.

† It was on this occasion that Andrew Marvel composed the following poem, which Mr. Campbell cited as a specimen of great beauty in his Lectures.

BERMUDAS.

“ Where the remote Bermudas ride,
I’ th’ oceans bosom unespied,
From a small boat that row’d along,
The list’ning winds received this song.

What should we do but sing His praise,
That led us thro’ the wat’ry maze,
Unto an Isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own ?
Where he the huge sea monsters wracks,
That lift the deep upon their backs :
He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storm and prelates rage.
He gave us this eternal spring
Which here enamels everything ;
And sends the fowls to us in care
Our daily visits through the air.
He hangs in shades the orange bright,
Like golden lamps in a green night,
And eke, in the pomegranates close,
Jewels more rich than Ormus shews.
He makes the figs our mouths to meet,
And throws the melons at our feet.

The wife of Governor Seymour was a Quaker, and at the time of his appointment to the council some years previously, this was made the subject of correspondence with the Company by the then governor. It was observed that although "his wife be a Quaker," yet he was a person likely to serve the interests of the colony.

At the assizes, held in December, 1668, a woman named Christian North, of Hog Bay, was tried for witchcraft, but fortunately for herself she was acquitted. She certainly had a strange name for a dealer in the Black Art.*

On the 15th of May, 1669, Sir John Haydon, Knt., arrived from England, and on the following day was

With cedars chosen by his hand
From Lebanon, He stores the land ;
And makes the hollow waves that roar
Proclaim the ambergris on shore.
He in these rocks for us did frame
A temple where to sound his name.
Oh ! let our voice, His praise exalt
Till it arrive at heaven's vault,
Which, thence, perhaps rebounding may
Echo beyond the Mexique Bay.

Thus sang they in the English boat,
A holy and a cheerful note,
And all the way to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time."

* At a later period an old negro woman (Sarah Basset), was burnt in Paget's Parish for the same crime of witchcraft, as it is said, but it appears more probable that she was guilty of the real offence of murder by poisoning. Be this as it may, she was certainly burnt, and from the expressions made use of by the old creature, both on her way to the stake and after the fire was burning around her, it would seem that she was mad. The place where she suffered is still pointed out at the bottom of the Lane Harbour. The precise date of this event cannot be ascertained with anything like certainty.

received by the council as Governor and Captain-general of the islands. The colonists were now numerous, and every day showed strong disposition to break through the selfish and harsh regulations of the Proprietors. The task of enforcing obedience to the rules laid down in the Order-book, consequently became daily a work of greater difficulty. Sir John appears to have been a man of energy, and on every occasion caused his authority to be respected; but the correspondence of the Company teems with complaints against the quality of the tobacco and oil shipped to London, as well as the quantity. The people were forbidden to cut the cedar without special license, and as they were in the habit of exporting their oranges in chests made of this wood, this regulation operated very materially to the prejudice of the place. Previously to the promulgation of this order in 1671, several homeward-bound West Indiamen arrived in Castle Harbour to load with this fruit for the English market. They had fortunately completed their lading before the regulation reached the colony, with the exception of two, which were compelled to leave without cargoes.*

Whaling was claimed as an exclusive privilege, and was conducted for the sole benefit of the Proprietors by the sheriffs, who conducted the business of deputies, termed husbands, who for their trouble appear to have participated in the profits. Fettered as the fishery was, considerable quantities of oil were, however, exported, as 192 tons were shipped in the year

* Public Records, No. II.

1666 and 1669, besides the annual rent of the tobacco.*

Numerous attempts were made in 1670-1 to boil sugar, but as the manufacture was unprofitable, it was abandoned, not, however, before the Company directed the Governor to discourage and prevent it, as too much wood would be required to boil the juice of the cane.

A resolution was passed by the Governor and Council on the 4th of January, 1677, that all readers and clergymen should keep records of births, marriages, and deaths for each parish, of which they were required to deposit certified copies with the Secretary, at the end of each year.†

Determined to make an effort to throw off the oppresssive yoke of the Company, the principal inhabitants addressed a strong memorial to his Majesty King Charles II., appealing to him for protection. This was immediately noticed, and the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations were ordered on the 16th of May, 1697, to examine their grievances and report upon them. Their statement favoured the colonists, and it was ordered by the Royal Council, on the 14th of November following, that in case they did not consent to refer the complaints of the planters to the

* One ship, the Marygold, had received, as a part of her return cargo, in 1670, no less than 250,000 pounds of this article.

† There is some reason to think that these valuable documents were regularly transmitted to the Company in London, particularly as no vestage of them can now be found in the colony, and as this course was always pursued with papers of consequence. It is much to be regretted that this laudable rule had not been made a law of the land, as these important Records have been, and are still, shamefully neglected.

decision of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, the powers of their charter should be left to a trial at law, by a *scire facias* or *quo warranto*.* No sooner had this intelligence reached the islands than the people began to question the power of the Proprietors, and refused to pay the duties levied by them, alleging that they had no legal authority over them. This disaffection became so general, countenanced as it was by some of the Adventurers themselves, who had settled on their lands in the colony, that the Governor was compelled to report it to the Company, who forthwith laid the information before his Majesty. In consequence of this, an order was issued to the Bermudians, dated 25th of February, 1680, directing them to obey the Adventurers until the writ of *quo warranto* was decided. This was, however, very reluctantly complied with. The last public act of Governor Heydon was to proclaim a day of fasting and humiliation on the 5th of August, 1681. A few days after he left the islands, and was succeeded by Captain Florentius Seymour, as Lieutenant-Governor.

* Appendix, F.

CHAPTER III.

Governors F. Seymour—Richard Cony—Dissolution of the Bermuda Company—Governors Sir Robert Robinson—Isaac Richier—John Goddard—Samuel Day—Benjamin Bennet—Henry Palleine—Benjamin Bennett—John Hope—President John Trimmingham—Governor John Pitt—President Andrew Auchintek—Governor Allured Popple—President Francis Jones—Governor William Popple—President F. Jones—Governor William Popple—President F. Jones—Governor George James Bruere.

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THE colonists had now (1682) become so open in their violation of the orders of the Company, in defiance of the Royal Orders, that Governor Seymour was forced to issue several strong proclamations, to which, however, very little attention was paid; his administration was popular but short, as he died at Sandys on the 3rd of November after a brief illness. The council assembled on the 9th and unanimously elected Captain Henry Durham of Southampton to fill the vacant office, and he was qualified immediately after; he was superseded by Colonel Richard Cony, who arrived on the 29th January, 1683.

The Company appear to have declined referring the petition of the planters to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, as an order was issued by His Majesty in Council, dated at Whitehall, November 23rd, 1683,

directing Sir Robert Sawyer, the Attorney-General, to appoint such person or persons as he should think fit to peruse the books, records, letters and papers of the Bermuda Company, not only in England but in the islands, and to take such copies as would facilitate the prosecution of the *quo warranto* which had been brought against the Company's Charter. In consequence of this Mathew Morris and Thomas Smith were appointed for England, and Samuel Trott, William Peniston, William Righton, and John Stone, or any two of them, for the colony.* The order for the last named persons to proceed with the business confided to them reached the islands on the 9th of June; they were all men of importance in the colony, and Mr. Peniston was one of the Company living on his shares. Between him and Governor Cony there appears to have been a bitter quarrel, no doubt arising from the oppressive regulations of the Proprietors from which Mr. Peniston thought perhaps he should be exempt as he was one of the Adventurers; he had just been dismissed from his seat at the council table and as a personal enemy of the Governor was most unfit to discharge the delicate duty of inspecting the affairs of the place. On application to Colonel Cony he at first refused to allow the public records to be examined, but after hastily consulting his council he on the following day overlooked the harshness of Mr. Peniston and offered him and his colleagues every facility.

The Spaniards had recently taken forcible possession of the island of New Providence, one of the Bahamas,

* Appendix, G.

and rumours, which on similar occasions are common and generally unjust, had reached the Bermudas that Governor Cony had betrayed his trust to them for a considerable sum of money. As the inhabitants were entirely destitute of the means of defending themselves they were naturally much alarmed, and six of the most influential of the people residing in the country waited on him on the 22nd October, 1685, and requested among other things a supply of arms and ammunition ; this was ungraciously refused, the governor observing that he would take care to defend the forts, and the people must do the best they could. This confirmed the suspicions of the colonists, and headed by Mr. William Peniston they threatened to take a supply of powder by force ; this spirited conduct so alarmed Cony that he requested the Deputy Secretary to address circular letters to the different magistrates commanding them to keep the peace ; the following is a copy of one of them :—

“ Mr. Copeland Lea,

“ Sir—These are to acquaint you that this morning I received a letter from the Governor that he understands there is likely to be a disturbance in y^e country, and by the purport of his order to me directed you are strictly commanded in his Maties. name—That you use your endeavours to keep all persons in quiet & peace untill y^e arrival of His Maties. frigott which is daily expected, wch is all at present to trouble you. I rest, your friend to serve you.

“ JOHN HUBBARD, D. Secy.

“ May y^e first, 1686.

"I desire you to acquaint Capt. Bascome and others of the civil and military officers for them to observe y^e above said order.

Yrs.,

"J. H."

Upon Lea's submitting his reply to his parishioners, and styling Cony the "Right Honble. the Governor," Mr. Peniston and several others refused to agree with it, Mr. Peniston observing that as "he would not own him as a counsellor, he would not acknowledge him as Governor." Accordingly the address was altered to, "The Honble. Coll. Richard Cony, President; with speed."

An order was issued on the 5th of June following, directing an inventory to be made of all arms in the islands, and a supply of ammunition to be issued from the public stores to the inhabitants. A council of war was called at St. George, which promulgated a general order for the regulation of the militia in case of an attack.

Although the Governor had been acquitted of any treasonable conduct by the Council, to which he had appealed when first accused, the people still believed he had betrayed them to the enemy, and various letters received from the island of Eleathera* and other places strengthened the opinion. Some of these documents

* This island (one of the Bahamas) was granted to Governor William Sayle, and was settled by the Bermudians under his authority. After his death, his son claimed the sovereignty of the island as a matter of course, but, strange to say, the charter or grant to his father could not be found, although there appears ample reason to believe that it was in existence at his decease.

were handed to Cony by his friends, which he had no sooner received than he called the Council together and after laying the information before them, he requested that they would investigate the whole matter, at the same time declining to preside over their deliberations.

Captain George St. Loo, of the Dartmouth frigate then in port, was invited to preside, which he continued to do until the enquiry terminated. The proceedings commenced on the 9th of August, 1686, and, at the request of the Governor, all persons were requested to prefer any charges against him, connected with the accusation. Numerous affidavits were sworn to, but they proved nothing, and Colonel Cony resumed his place at the Council-table on the 20th September following. He, however, thought it necessary to make oath of his innocence in presence of the most influential men of the colony. His bold and straightforward conduct in openly meeting the accusation, clearly proves that he was entirely innocent of the serious charges brought against him; and it appears that Governor Cony was the victim of the misrule of the Company, and bore the long accumulated vengeance of the colonists who had suffered from misgovernment for so many years. The authority of the Proprietors had already terminated, as they never appeared to answer to the writ of *quo warranto*, and their charter was abolished.* The exact period of this important decision cannot be ascertained but from the best informa-

* Trial respecting the Charter of the City of London, Hilary Term, 34, Chas. II.—“There was the *Quo Warranto* against the Bermuda Company but they never appeared.”

tion which can now be had, it seems to have been during the year 1685. The event was however joyfully welcomed by the Bermudians who were by it released from a thralldom little better than slavery.

On the 12th April, 1687, Sir Robert Robinson arrived commissioned by King James as Governor, Captain-General, and Vice-Admiral of the Bermudas. His first public act was to issue writs for the election of a General Assembly of four persons for each parish, to hold its first sitting on the 6th of June.

The enemies of the late governor, Colonel Cony, were now particularly active in preferring complaints against him, which were readily listened to and he was ordered to appear before the Council to answer for his conduct. He very properly declined doing so, at the same time informing Sir Robert that he would defend himself only to the King his master. This calm and dignified way of meeting the unhandsome demand of his successor, seems to have made a sufficient impression on the latter, as no further attempt was made to molest Cony.

One of the first measures of the Assembly was to request permission of the Governor to appoint a treasurer to receive the money levied by them, which he agreed to. He was succeeded by Isaac Richier, Esq.,* in 1691, whose administration was characterised by gross violation of all law and order.

The Lords of Trade and Plantations had appointed Mr. Samuel Trott to the office of Collector of the Customs, in October, 1690, which was confirmed by

* Appendix, H.

their Majesties shortly after ; but it did not suit the grasping spirit of the Governor to have a man in his way who was at all likely to interfere with his plans for the accumulation of wealth, and he accordingly commenced hostilities with that officer by refusing to acknowledge him, and denying the legality of his appointment. He at the same time ordered all masters of vessels to disregard him in his official capacity, and enter and clear with the naval officer, whom he appointed, and who appears to have been devoted to his interests.*

The ship, *Ann and Mary*, having loaded publicly with tobacco and other commodities for the home-market, the Governor, upon some frivolous pretext, caused her to be seized, and condemned her himself. Finding this measure too high-handed, he annulled the whole proceedings by proclamation a few days after, and declared the ship free. He had no intention however, of letting her escape him, as he immediately libelled her in another court, created by himself for the occasion, and consisting of two judges, Colonel Jenkins and Mr. Joseph Stow. The appointment of Mr. Stow was made without consulting him, and when informed of it he refused to have anything to do with the matter. As he was a person of considerable influence, the Governor appears to have been glad to acknowledge his error. This did not prevent Mr. Jenkins from presiding, and he forthwith condemned the ship.

* It appears that Governor Richier persecuted another person named Nicholas Trott, sen., as he directed John Fyfield, then deputy secretary, to proceed to Barbadoes in search of him : see Appendix, I.

Governor Richier caused two vessels to be fitted out as privateers, and finding difficulty in manning them, he issued warrants, and impressed men for the purpose.* The command was given to two men, named Dew and Griffin, who put to sea, and off Cape Cod boarded a British vessel bound to Virginia, with a valuable cargo, consisting partly of oil, brimstone, and some gold and silver. Upon the flimsy pretext that she had no clearance, they plundered her of her cargo and returned to Bermuda. The goods were received by Richier, and after being stored in his cellars, were divided at night, under some mulberry trees in the Government garden at St. George.

Another vessel, partly owned by the Governor, arrived from St. Thomas with a load of cotton, and entered it with the naval officer as the produce of a British colony, without, of course, paying any duty. This came to the ears of the collector who seized the bales, after reporting the matter to Richier. This met with his approval, and Trott was directed to store his seizure in some stores, the private property of the Governor. The other owners were astonished at this proceeding, but they were still more amazed when on application to His Excellency for redress, they found him suddenly determined to punish the illegality of the importation. The owner of the cotton moved for a trial, and the collector notified Richier of his wish, but the only reply he received was a request that he would hold his peace. Nothing more was

* Copies of these warrants are still in existence ; they were principally served in the parish of Devonshire.

heard of the matter for some time, when it appeared that the Governor had purchased the seizure, at a low rate, of the proprietor, who was glad to get anything for it, and sold a part in the colony, shipping the remainder to England.

Not long after this the ship *Two Brothers*, in which Richier was also interested, arrived from Caraco and entered with Groves the naval officer, reporting a cargo of provisions only; upon enquiry the collector (Trott) discovered that a quantity of dry goods had been landed from her, and he applied to the Governor for an order to the constables to assist him in searching for the articles; this was refused, and he seized the sloop and reported the circumstance to His Excellency requesting his advice and assistance as he was directed by his patent to do; he was of course roughly answered by Richier, who, no doubt, found himself, in consequence of this unexpected boldness of the officer, in an awkward predicament. Trott next solicited the aid of Fyfield, the Provost Marshal, who was also aid to the Governor and part owner of the vessel in question. This application was, as he possibly expected, as unsuccessful as the previous one to the Governor, who now informed the collector that if he did not make good his seizure he should pay for the vessel and remunerate the proprietors for damages sustained. This led to much angry altercation, and Richier ordered him to find security, adding that if the Commissioners themselves or the Lord Treasurer were in his government and were to break open doors he would hang them. The most indecent and extravagant

expressions were made use of by the Governor on this occasion, who at length cleared the sloop, treating Trott's remonstrances with open contempt. The privilege of wrecking had been made the subject of a grant, and the patentees appointed Captain Robert Hall and Mr. Thomas Walker as their agents; this was particularly obnoxious to the Governor, inasmuch as he had no opportunity to acquire wealth from that source. As Captain Hall commanded a ship trading to the islands, the nature of his business soon removed him from the place, and his colleague Walker was left to conduct the matter. In order to get rid of him the Governor promoted a quarrel between him and Fyfield, the Deputy Secretary. Though studiously avoided by Walker, Richier at length brought the dispute to issue, and lent the Secretary his sword to meet his opponent; contrary to his expectation, Walker ran his antagonist through the body and killed him on the spot. Every effort was made by the Governor to hang the successful duellist, but public opinion was probably too much in his favour, and he escaped. So lawless did Richier at length become that the colonists found the means of exposing his conduct to the Home Government, and he was superseded on the 10th of August, 1693, by John Goddard, Esq. By an order of the Council of the 15th of August, the late Governor was called upon to attend them at St. George and render an account of the public stores and other matters connected with his administration; this he treated with contempt, as well as a subsequent citation on the 22nd, alleging that he was accountable to their Majes-

ties alone. In consequence of this a warrant was issued on the following day to arrest him, but for some unexplained reason it was recalled on the 29th. An impeachment containing fourteen articles was now drawn up, which, with various depositions, was forwarded to the accused by the Assembly; he replied that the whole was a tissue of lies maliciously invented, and that the Council and Assembly were drawn into a combination against him to please his successor. Upon the receipt of this, on the 31st of January, 1694, the House voted that a fit and proper person should be sent to England to prosecute him, and declared his letter to be a scandalous libel. These resolutions were adopted by the Council on the 11th of February, and it was resolved that Mr. Nicholas Trott was the most proper person to proceed to England for the purpose. On the 12th of April a warrant was issued by Governor Goddard for arresting the persons of Isaac Richier and Colonel John Devereux, for having treasonable and disaffected intentions, and for holding a correspondence with persons who were similarly disposed. The Marshal, Stephen Crow, was empowered to enter and search all houses suspected of containing the correspondence named. Richier subsequently escaped to England, but the proceedings were not suspended, as he was held to bail in a heavy sum to answer the charges brought against him, and a commission from the crown was sent out to enquire into the accusations and take evidence. This was accordingly done, and the charges preferred by Mr. Trott and others were fully confirmed; but it appears doubtful if he was ever punished.

The first Act passed by the Assembly during the administration of Governor Goddard, was for the regulation of weights and measures.* A tax of £5. was levied on all Jews arriving in the colony for purposes of trade, and a further monthly rate if they continued in the islands, with a fee for every vessel arriving to their address. The pay of the members of the Assembly was limited to two shillings and eight pence per day, being about one shilling and seven pence sterling. But the most remarkable law prohibited the exportation of corn when the price exceeded two shillings and eight pence per bushel. The quantity of grain now raised in the islands is insignificant, and the country † to which the Bermudas once shipped its surplus, now supplies them with almost all they consume.

The shipwreck of numerous vessels (among which were several homeward-bound Spaniards,) previous to, and shortly after, the settlement of the place, induced a belief that considerable treasure had been concealed on Ireland Island, or on that part of the parish of Pembroke, called Spanish Point. This was strengthened by the discovery of a wooden cross, with a brass-plate and inscription on a rock, ‡ not far from Ireland, and a similar plate on a yellow wood tree, also in the vicinity of a cross, on the shore of the island itself and directly opposite. One Thomas Neale, of Middlesex, obtained a grant of all treasure concealed in the Ber-

* This very wholesome law, from some unaccountable neglect, fell into disuse, and was revived in the session of 1845.

† Virginia.

‡ Now called Magazine Island and sometimes Cross Island.

mudas. This instrument was dated 16th of July, 1692, and was executed by their Majesties, William and Mary, on condition that one-fifth of every thing found was to be reserved for their use. This singular document was sent out to the islands, not however until Neale had effected a sale of his interest to another person, and various strange depositions were taken relating to the subject, but it does not appear that anything was ever discovered.*

Governor Goddard was succeeded on the 30th of October, 1698, by Samuel Day, Esq., as Lieutenant-Governor of the colony. In his first address to the Legislature, he recommended that a law should be passed "for restraining the number of horses, by setting such a rate on those that keep horses as may hinder the keeping of more than what is absolutely necessary." The Assembly differed with him in opinion, and declined interfering.

Mr. Day was soon involved in difficulties with the inhabitants, owing to some high-handed measures he thought proper to adopt, the particulars of which are not clearly explained, and a formal complaint was made against him to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who laid the alleged grievance before His Majesty in council. There being strong reason for supposing that the complaints were well grounded, he was held to bail in the sum of £2,000, to answer a charge respecting the illegal seizure of the sloop Dolphin; he was, at the same time, superseded by Benjamin Bennett, Esq., on the 2nd of May, 1701. The

* Appendix, K.

charges made against him were forthwith prosecuted with all vigour, and there appeared to be such an unfavourable opinion of his cause in the colony, that Sir Samuel Day, his father, petitioned His Majesty that he might be recalled, and be permitted to defend himself in England. As this was a reasonable and proper application, it was granted. The Provost-Marshal, Edward Jones, and Chief-Justice Gilbert Nelson, were also implicated, and the former, being a clever, though apparently a very unscrupulous, man, contrived for a time to evade punishment, and gave the authorities no little trouble.

The Act regulating the plantation bond,* was passed

* This bond may be traced to the letter book of the Bermuda Company, and appears to have been one of the rules contained in the order book; the intention of it was to prevent the escape of any of the colonists who were bond servants, and seems to have been one of the causes of complaint against the Proprietors; after the dissolution of the Company it appears to have been disregarded, and yet in 1707 they again revived what they had just before considered so oppressive; it is mentioned in the Company's letter book as follows:—

"The 17th July last (1671-2) arrived in our Towne Harber Capt. Mathias Halsted, commandr. of the Blessing, imployed by the Lords Proprietors for Carolina, but commissioned by His Royal Highness the Duke of Yorke, by virtue whereof he pleaded an exemption from all Port duties: Neither would hee give Bond to secure us from carrying away any persons indebted, or servants & prohibited goods; hee having above 100 Souls designed from the Lords for their Plantation wee did not think it prudent to hinder his proceeding on his voyage.

"Touching your Order of 21st Ffebruaire, 1669, for shipmasters geiving Bond, we shall put it in execution as to all ships that put in here to trade; we have now sent you the originals of all Bonds required in your last, the same being first registered in ye Secretaries Office with ye depositions of as many of ye witnesses as are in ye countrie drawn up in writing and attested under the publique Seale of these Islands. Wee are sorry that any bonds formerly taken appeare imperfect. Wee find many difficulties, if not impossibilities, attending foreigne masters of ships in geiving good & sufficient bond by persons inhabiting these

by Governor Bennett on the 12th of May, 1704, and confirmed by the Crown on the 20th of February, 1707-8. This security was a legacy from the Bermuda Company, and proved very embarrassing to trade generally, and although dead in effect has never been repealed.*

An order was received by Governor Bennett, in 1710, to compel all vessels resorting to the islands for the purpose of trading to confine themselves to Castle Harbour and the port of St. George. The chief business of the islands at the time consisted in carrying salt, gathered at the Fortugas and the Bahamas, to the provinces, and onions to the West Indies, and receiving in exchange such articles of provisions as they required; these returned cargoes were first entered at St. George, and afterwards unloaded at their respective places of business, and this restriction operated materially to the prejudice of the general interests of the colony. After some delay the Legislature succeeded, by petitioning the Crown, in procuring the revocation of this obnoxious regulation.

During this year the Legislature passed a law to prevent the forfeiture of life and estate upon the acci-

Islands, ye difficulties of strangers giving in Securitie is so great here that a Merchant & Master of a shipp that came in distress named ye Speedie said that if they were in distress at sea & like to perish they would as soon chuse to sink as to come into Harhour, for that there was soe much impossibilitie in getting sufficient securitie of ye Inhabitants of ye Islands that they must be inforced to halle up their shipp for want of ye same or else could not goe out of ye Harbour againe, this they said in ye hearing of ye sherriffe, and others of the Council have heard ye same by other strangers."

* It has recently however been greatly modified.

dental killing of a negro or slave. The want of clergymen was much felt by the inhabitants, particularly in the western parishes, and the Legislature addressed the Bishop of London on the subject, and by message requested the Governor to use his influence to obtain the services of a sufficient number. On the 27th of November (1710), the following message was forwarded to His Excellency.

"To His Excellency the Governor.

"By the Generall Assembly.

"May it please Your Excellency.

"This House being thoroughly sensible of the great want of a minister of the Gospel in the four western Tribes of these Islands, the want of which is likely to prove very prejudicial, if not ruinous to y^e Inhabitants, more especially the younger sort, who for want of a minister to exercise his ministerial office in the respective churches, wander about upon God's holy day spending their time to y^e dishonour of God and scandal of the Christian Religion. This House, therefore, humbly prays Your Excellency to take the same into your wise consideration, and soe to Represent the condition that the want thereof may be supply^d with a Godly pious minister to officiate in y^e vacancy aforesaid. And that in the meane time those tribes may be in some measure supply^d by turns by the present ministers as Your Excellency shall direct.

"Voted (*nemine contradicente*) to be laid before His Excellency y^e Governor, 27th day of Nov^r. 1710.

"T. BOSTOCK, Ck. to y^e Assembly."

The Bahama islands having for some time been a rendezvous for pirates, King George the First was pleased to direct measures to be taken for dislodging them. Governor Bennett dispatched a sloop, ordering the marauders to surrender, pursuant to His Majesty's proclamation. Those who were on shore on her arrival at New Providence, gladly accepted the opportunity to escape, and declared that they did not doubt but their companions, who were at sea, would follow their example. Capt. Henry Jennings and fifteen others sailed for Bermuda, and were soon after followed by four other captains, Leslie, Nichols, Hornigold and Burges, with one hundred and fourteen men, who all surrendered.*

After a popular administration, Governor Bennett was relieved on the 14th of November, 1713, by Henry Pulleine, Esq., as Lieutenant-Governor. This gentleman did not long enjoy his government as he died on the 20th of April, 1715.

In 1710 the Spaniards made a descent on the Turk's-Islands (which had been settled by the Bermudians for the purpose of gathering salt,)[†] and took possession of them, making prisoners-of-war of the

* Fenning's Geography, London, 1771, p. 683; also History of the West Indies, 1711, p. 433.

† The question may naturally be asked, how the Bermudians, in the immediate vicinity of the fertile colonies on the American Continent, should have preferred settling the sterile Cays of the Bahamas? The reason seems to have been this. When the Bermuda Company sent out their first settlers, they directed Governor Moore (see his Commission in the Appendix, Article xii, clause 3) to undertake the manufacture of Salt, and one Ralph Narner accompanied the expedition as a practical salt maker. It would appear that the attempt failed, as there is no record

people. It was shortly after, and probably during Governor Pulleine's rule, that the Bermudians at their own expense and of their own accord, dispatched a force under Captain Lewis Middleton to regain possession of the Cays. The expedition was successful, as a victory was gained over the Spaniards, and they were driven from the islands; they still, however, continued to make predatory attacks on the salt-rakers at the ponds, and on their vessels in going for and carrying away salt. To repel these aggressions and afford security to their trade, the Bermudians went to the expense of arming their vessels, not only independently of the assistance of any other colony, but also of the mother country.*

His Excellency Benjamin Bennett having been again appointed to the office vacant by the death of Mr. Pulleine, commenced his administration on the 7th of October, 1715.

In July, 1720, a suspicious vessel made her appearance off the islands, and the sloop Devonshire was

extant of the business ever having been conducted, but the attention of the people once turned to it, may explain why they were soon after found frequenting the Portugues, and the Bahamas actively engaged in the trade. The first colonization of the Turk's-Islands is lost in obscurity, as the oldest inhabitants of the Bermudas, in 1768, had no recollection of their discovery, but speak of them in some depositions taken at that time, as settled as early as they could recollect. It is remarkable that for a long period after their discovery, their occupation by the Bermudians was temporary, in consequence of the opinion that they were more unhealthy during the summer months. From this circumstance, the salt-rakers left the Turk's-Islands at the approach of the hottest season, and returned to Bermuda.

* Isocrates; Pamphlet on the Question of the Bahama Jurisdiction, p. 15.

hired, manned, and equipped to pursue her. This vessel was the property of Richard Gilbert, Esq., of Devonshire, and was placed under the command of a Captain Joell, a man of determined and intrepid character. After a short cruise she encountered a heavily armed Spanish ship, homeward-bound, with a valuable cargo, and Captain Joell, nothing daunted at the tremendous advantage of the enemy in point of size, unhesitatingly brought her to action. The battle continued for some time, when Captain Joell, finding his antagonist attempting to escape, determined to board, but in the attempt the boom of the sloop was shot away, the gallant captain severely wounded, and some of the crew killed. This decided the engagement, as the sloop became unmanageable, and after a temporary repair returned to Bermuda, whilst the ship put into Curacao for a refit.*

Governor Bennett was relieved on the 23rd of February, 1721-2, by John Hope, Esquire. The harmony which had ever existed between the several branches of the Legislature was seriously interrupted in March, 1723, as Governor Hope refused his assent to the Habeas Corpus and other Acts passed by the Assembly for the good order of the place, and which they considered of paramount importance.

This difference soon led to altercations with the principal inhabitants, and his unpopularity was much increased by his expressed suspicions of the disloyalty

* So gallant was this attempt considered that the owner of the sloop caused a painting to be made representing the engagement; this is now in possession of R. G. Dill, Esq., the grandson of Mr. Gilbert.

of the people. A petition was numerously signed praying His Majesty to remove him. Having summarily dissolved the late House of Assembly he issued new writs for an election, and the Legislature met in consequence on the 12th of October, 1725, but their choice of a speaker was not agreeable to His Excellency, and they were directed to choose another; this they declined doing, and were immediately dissolved by message. They were again called together on the 28th of June, 1726, and presented Mr. Perient Trott, who was accepted. The unpopularity of the Governor continued undiminished. Colonel R. Jennings, a member of the Council, was met on the road in October by one Delapp, who requested him to inform His Excellency that there was a conspiracy on foot against him; this message was delivered at the first meeting of the Council, and of course gave the Governor no little uneasiness as he had reason to apprehend the resentment of the people. Leave of absence having been granted him, he resigned the administration to John Trimmingham, Esquire, President of the Council, who satisfactorily discharged the duties of his office until relieved by John Pitt, Esquire, on the 3rd of September, 1728. This gentleman was not more popular than Mr. Hope, and he was soon engaged in a warm contention with the representatives of the people. The Council had reason to complain of gross violation of their privileges on the 8th of February, 1736-7, when he violently possessed himself of a petition presented to the board on that day by William North, which he was unwilling to hear.

Dr. George Berkely, the celebrated Dean of Derry, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, had been for some time employed in arranging a plan for the better supplying the churches in the colonies, or as they were then termed, plantations, and for converting the savages of America to Christianity, by erecting a college in the Bahamas.*

After considerable delay, he obtained a charter for its foundation, together with a Parliamentary grant of £20,000 for carrying his plan into execution. To this was added several large private subscriptions to be paid as soon as the public bounty should be received. Upon the faith of this, in 1728, he embarked for America, where he became generally and justly venerated by the colonists. The Queen, with whom he was a favourite, endeavoured to dissuade him from

* "George I. laid his commands on Sir Robert Walpole to introduce and conduct it (the Bill) through the House of Commons. His Majesty was further pleased to grant a charter for erecting a college, by the name of St. Paul's College, in Bermuda, to consist of a president and nine fellows who were obliged to maintain and educate Indian scholars at the rate of £10 per annum for each. The first president, Dr. George Berkeley, and first three fellows named in the charter were licensed to hold their preferments in these kingdoms till the expiration of one year and a half after their arrival in Bermuda. The Commons, May, 11th, 1726, voted 'That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, that out of the lands in Saint Christopher's, yielded by France to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, His Majesty would be graciously pleased to make such grant for the use the president and fellows of the College of St. Paul in Bermuda, as His Majesty shall think proper.' The sum of £20,000 was accordingly promised by the minister, and several private subscriptions were immediately raised for promoting 'so pious an undertaking' as it is styled in the King's answer to this address."—*Berkeley's Works*, London, 1837, p. 6. A reference to this interesting work, pp. 18, to 26, will prove how deeply interested this excellent man felt in the prosecution of his plan.

this enterprise, but he replied he would prefer the headship of St. Paul's College at Bermuda to the Primacy of all England. From that headship he was to enjoy a revenue of £100 per annum, and was bound by his charter to resign his deanery, then worth £1,100 per annum, within a year and a half after the government grant should be paid. The £20,000 was never paid, and after two years' residence in the American provinces, chiefly at Rhode Island, he was obliged to return to Europe, and abandon one of the noblest of designs.

After an unpleasant term of office, Governor Pitt obtained leave of absence, and President Andrew Auchinlech assumed the command on the 1st of November, 1737. The prosperity of the islands had greatly declined during the last few years, and so general was the poverty of the place that the President called the attention of the Legislature to the fact, with the view of affording the poor some relief.*

His Excellency Allured Popple entered upon the government on the 10th of July, 1738. The twenty-sixth article of his instructions abolished the whole of the restrictions on whaling, which had existed since the first settlement of the colony, and he was directed to make the fishery free to all, and offer every en-

* It was during the year 1730 that the legislature passed one of those laws which so effectually prove the brutalizing effects of slavery; it was enacted that any owner who, in correcting or punishing his slave, should happen to take his life, should not even be called to account for the offence; any one maliciously killing or destroying a slave should be fined ten pounds, to which was added the value of the negro should he be the property of another person. This horrible law was not however peculiar to the Bermudas.

couragement to persons desirous of engaging in the business; at the same time he was directed to apply to the Legislature for compensation for the rights enjoyed by his predecessors. This was agreeable news to the people generally, to whom the taxes on this trade were very odious. Nothing occurred to interrupt the harmony existing between the authorities until the session of 1739, when a question of privilege arose which, having been warmly received by the Assembly, the Governor declared himself compelled to dissolve them on the 16th of August. They were again summoned to meet on the 2d of October following, after a re-election.

On the night of the 5th of September, 1741, a Spanish privateer, called the Francisco Lopez, approached the islands, and at Hunt's Bay landed the crews of several prizes, to the number of thirty-one. This was done with the greatest audacity, as the prisoners were deliberately sent off in a fishing-boat, seized for the occasion, and the Spaniards afterwards sailed for the Havanna. There being reason to suppose that the same privateer might make an attempt to plunder some part of the colony, two sloops were hastily armed and equipped by the public, and sent to cruise against the enemy.

Some difference of opinion having arisen between Governor Popple and the Assembly respecting the right of the latter to have their original acts in the custody of their clerk, an officer of their appointment,*

* It appears that a charge was made against the public for all transcripts, which was the perquisite of the clerk and formed no inconsiderable item in his income.

some uncourteous language was used to the Governor in an address, and he dissolved them on the 6th of November, 1741, and laid the correspondence before the home government, which decided the question in his favour, directing him in future to nominate the clerk of the Assembly, as it was a prerogative of the Crown. This was most galling to the House, and their reply to his message on the 7th of January, 1743, was very bitter, accusing him of mercenary views in his public measures. It is much to the credit of the Governor that he did not retort the improper language used to him on this occasion; by his moderation harmony was restored, and the business of the colony proceeded with all dispatch.

His Excellency Allured Popple died on the 9th of November, 1744, and President Francis Jones succeeded him, and continued in office until the 1st of July, 1747, when he was relieved by Governor William Popple whose first measures were not calculated to please the people. The Legislature at their first meeting, by a large majority, refused to grant him a salary, and a breach was naturally the immediate result. The prejudice against him was much strengthened by the fact having transpired that he had lent his influence to three persons to procure a grant of the crown lands under the pretence of cultivating the vine. This was discovered, in time for the Assembly to prevent it, by the vigilance of Mr. Noden, the colony agent in London. The transfer of this species of property to the use of private individuals would have materially added to the burthens of the colony, as the rents and

profits, after certain portions were appropriated to pay the Public Secretary, Marshall, and other officers, were appropriated to defray the expences of the fortifications throughout the islands.

Early in 1748 Bermuda was visited by the celebrated preacher Whitfield who arrived from Georgia; he was deservedly popular with all classes during his brief stay; after spending some months in Bermuda he sailed in June, of the same year, for England.* In November, 1751, the disputes with the Legislature became so serious that Governor Popple left his government in charge of President Francis Jones and returned to England. As this gentleman adopted the measures of his predecessor the contentions with the Assembly increased in bitterness, and the house still refused any salary for the Governor accusing him (with some show of justice) in their address of being the cause of all the miseries to which the country was reduced. Incensed at this boldness the President dissolved them on the 9th of April following and immediately issued new writs for a re-election. They met on the 5th of May, 1752, but the new House was not more pliant than the last, as they

* *Life and Times of Whitfield, M.A.*, London, 1838. Part of the pulpit in which Whitfield preached when in Warwick Parish is still preserved in the Presbyterian Church there.

It was in 1751 that Paulding states that General Washington accompanied his brother Lawrence to the Bermudas for the benefit of the health of the latter.—*Paulding's Life of Washington*, vol. ii., pp. 63, 64, New York, 1840. Sparks says that it was Barbadoes, and that they proposed visiting the Bermudas to which his brother Lawrence proceeded, whilst General, then Major, Washington returned to Virginia to take his brother's wife to the Bermudas; this was not however done, as Mr. Lawrence Washington became rapidly worse and left the island after a short residence.—*Spark's Life of Washington*, p. 15, Boston, 1843.

treated his speech with contempt and he refused to sanction any business until their reply was presented to him. This discord was productive of serious mischief to the colony, but as each party became aware of the absolute necessity of doing something, a truce, was by tacit consent, agreed on, and the much delayed business of the island proceeded rapidly.

His Excellency William Popple resumed his duties in November, 1755, and on the 14th of January, 1756, informed the people that the great object for which they had contended (whether they should be compelled to carry their vessels to Castle Harbour and St. George to enter and clear) had been yielded by the Home Government, and they were at liberty to pursue their trade as formerly; this announcement, together with the courteous way in which it was communicated to the Assembly, gave universal satisfaction, and the Legislature marked their appreciation of the tidings by granting the Governor a salary of £200 per annum.

Robert Hunter Morris, Esq., sometime Governor of Pennsylvania, petitioned the Imperial Government for the exclusive right of supplying the North American Colonies with salt, an article which constituted the principal trade of the Bermudas, and by the profits of which the inhabitants were chiefly supported, as two-thirds of their vessels were employed in carrying it to the American provinces, whilst a large part of the population of the colony was engaged in its manufacture at the Turk's Islands and other places. Fortunately the Agent for the Colony in London, Colonel Henry Tucker, received early information of the appli-

cation and possessed sufficient influence to induce the Agents of New England, Virginia, and Carolina, to aid him in frustrating the plan.

In May, 1761, several French privateers made their appearance off the islands, and to the dismay of the inhabitants continued to cruise about them to the injury of their trade, as the shipping then in port dared not put to sea for fear of being captured. Sensible that this state of things could not long continue without the most injurious consequences the Governor called upon the Assembly then in session to adopt some vigorous measure to put an end to this species of blockade. The Legislature immediately voted a sum of money to defray the expences of an expedition, and directed a Committee of the House to hire and arm two vessels without delay. A ship called the *Royal Ann*, the property of Messrs. Burch and Stiles, and a brigantine called the *Sally*, owned by Captain Paul Paynter, were selected, equipped, and manned with two hundred persons, and in the short space of two days put to sea.* Their presence proved sufficient to drive the enemy from the station and they never engaged.

For this important service Governor Popple recommended the officers of the expedition to the Assembly as deserving of rewards. The thanks of the country were voted to the crews, but the Legislature did not approve of any pecuniary present being made to any but two individuals,† who were not natives of the

* Appendix L.

† Captain Edney and Lieutenant Grenon, who received a present in addition to their pay.

place. The inhabitants had no sooner recovered from the panic occasioned by the presence of the French, than it was discovered that a conspiracy had been formed among the Negroes to rise and massacre the white population (1761). Several cases of poisoning first aroused suspicion, and at length the whole was discovered by the voluntary confession of some of the slaves. The Assembly suspended their rules and hastily passed a Bill for summarily trying by a special court such slaves as were suspected, or against whom any complaint should be preferred relating to the conspiracy. This was not considered sufficient, and martial law was declared by the Governor, to whom the Legislature also gave the power to name such persons as he thought proper to constitute a council of war. The difficulty of procuring sufficient evidence to convict the accused protracted the proceedings of the court appointed for the purpose, and they petitioned for some relief from their duties, proposing that the Legislature should adopt some other mode for suppressing the disturbance. Among the convicted was a slave, the property of Edward Parker, of Warwick, Esq.: this negro was strongly suspected of being the ringleader, and upon slight evidence was tried and condemned to be hung and burnt, which sentence was carried into effect, although he protested to the last moment he was innocent.*

To relieve the people from the militia duties, a

* The spot where the execution took place is in Warwick Parish and is still pointed out by the Hastwood family who are the descendants of Mr. Parker.

night watch was established by the Legislature throughout the islands. Among other regulations it was decreed that any negro who met a white person during the night, and was challenged, should fall on his knees; on failure of which such offender was to receive one hundred lashes.

The difficulty of procuring the attendance of sufficient members of the Assembly was so great at this period, and the inconvenience and loss to the colony in consequence was so sensibly felt, that the Governor at length complained of it. This led to the adoption of very stringent measures to enforce the attendance of the representatives, and in some instances the Speaker's warrant was issued to the Provost Marshal to take the absentees into custody. On the 13th of October, 1763, a petition was presented to the Governor, by one Isaac Chauvet, who stated he had entered into contract in England with Thomas Hunt, Esq., to come over to Bermuda to cultivate the vine; the cuttings for planting had several times miscarried, and he had been unable in consequence to make great progress. He stated that from observations of the soil and climate, he was convinced that wine might be made in the place equal to that produced in Madeira, and he asked for a grant to enable him to try the experiment. The plan seemed feasible enough, and Governor Popple, in his message, recommended the petition to the attention of the Assembly as he thought it would be of great consequence to the colony. They did not however think favourably of the scheme.

The health of His Excellency having suffered, he

took leave of the Legislature on the 1st of December, 1763, having called them together for the purpose, and shortly after left the islands. The bearing and language adopted by Governor Popple, after his visit to England, had greatly improved, but nothing could remove the bad impression which his first administration had made, and he was never a popular ruler. The government again devolved on President Francis Jones.

The finances of the colony were so much in arrear that it was difficult to raise sufficient money to meet the current expences. In consequence of this the fortifications were neglected, and the barracks for the accommodation of the few soldiers stationed at the islands, fell into ruins. These circumstances, together with the failure of the supply of wood and coals, which it was the duty of the colony to provide, produced a remonstrance from Lieutenant Beard, and a memorial to the House, dated the 8th of February, 1764. Very little attention was paid to the petition, which shared the fate of most unwelcome applications. Undiscouraged by the fate of his first attempt, Chauvet again presented a petition for assistance in cultivating the vine, but he was not more successful than on the former occasion.

President Jones was relieved in August, 1764, by His Excellency George James Bruere, Esq, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief.

CHAPTER IV.

Governor George James Bruere.

IN June, 1764, the French sent a flotilla from St. Domingo, which attacked the settlements at the Turks-Islands, destroyed the houses and effects and carried the inhabitants prisoners to Cape François. The government of the Bermudas made a representation to His Majesty of the unprovoked aggression of the French, and they were promptly put in possession of the Turks-Islands, and compensation was made for their losses by their invaders, agreeably to a settlement made between the French and English commissioners at Jamaica.*

The first communications between Governor Bruere and the Legislature were courteous and agreeable without containing any topics of great consequence; but this harmony was for a brief period. The trade of the island required every encouragement, and it has already been stated that Governor William Popple gave no little satisfaction when he announced, after his return from England, the abolition of the obnoxious

* Isocrates, Pamphlet on the Question of the Bahama Jurisdiction, page 16.

order compelling vessels to proceed to St. George on their arrival, or before sailing, in order to enter or clear. This license was, without doubt, greatly abused, and much revenue, in consequence, lost to the colony, but at the same time it spread wealth over the whole country and caused property to bear everywhere a fair value. The point was, however, considered settled by the inhabitants, and they were both astonished and exasperated when the Governor submitted a draft of a proclamation to the Assembly, shortly after the commencement of the session, which forbade this practice, and confined shipping to the quay at Saint George. He however promised to concur in any measure for building another town at the Lane.* The proposed measure was regarded as ruinous to the general interests of the place, and the Legislature in their reply deprecated the exercise of the Governor's power in that way. Sharp messages and angry retorts followed fast on each other, and both parties showed a want of courtesy and discretion very unbecoming.

A memorial was again presented to the Executive by Chauvet for a grant to aid him in the cultivation of the vine (September, 1764), and the Legislature, apparently determined to put an end to these importunities, ordered him to attend the House immediately, but he was not to be found.

The Abbé Raynal observes that it was during the year 1765 that "the principal inhabitants of the Bermuda Islands formed a society, the statutes of

* About the centre of the islands and near the spot on which the town of Hamilton was afterwards built.

which are perhaps the most respectable monument that ever dignified humanity. These virtuous citizens have engaged themselves to form a library of all books of husbandry, in whatever language they have been written, to procure to all capable persons of both sexes, an employment suitable to their disposition, to bestow a reward on every man who has introduced into the colony any new art, or contributed to the improvement of any one already known, to give a pension to every daily workman, who, after having assiduously continued his labour, and maintained a good character for forty years, shall not have been able to lay up a stock sufficient to allow him to pass his latter days in quiet; and lastly to indemnify every inhabitant of Bermuda who shall have been oppressed either by the minister or the magistrate.”* The Abbé makes sage reflections on the benevolence of the design, but unhappily he has neglected to inform us by what name this generous association was known or in what part of the islands it was situated, and no one can now remember of the existence of any such Utopian scheme.†

The breach between the Governor and the Assembly was increased by his improper interference with their

* Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies; by the Abbé Raynal, vol. iii., pp. 40, 41.

† The Somerset Bridge Club is by many thought to be the Society alluded to, but if such extensive and philanthropical measures were ever contemplated, they must have signally failed, as the club has long since ceased to exist, and its library has not been preserved.

privileges, and by his forbidding the pilots to bring vessels through the channels at the west end of the islands under the pretence that they were too dangerous, but, in reality, to compel the shipping to pass under the guns of the forts near his official residence at St. George.

It was resolved by the House on the 21st of March, 1767, that the speaker and eleven members should be appointed a committee to address His Majesty on the tyranny and oppression of the Governor, should they deem it necessary, during the adjournment of the House.

The produce of the salt ponds at the Turks-Islands was of great importance to the Bermudas at this period, as the rakers resided only part of the year at the Cays and left their families in their native-place. In this way a large part of the population, particularly of two parishes,* was supported; the supply of money arising from this source was of great assistance to trade, and employment was also given to a considerable portion of the shipping. After the Bermudians had by their industry succeeded in rendering the ponds valuable, the authorities of the Bahamas claimed the right to legislate for the Turks-Islands as coming within their limits, and the matter was finally referred to the Home Government. It was doubtful if these little islands had ever been granted at all, and the Secretary of State, Lord Hillsborough, although he appointed Mr. Andrew Symmer, a Bahamian, agent for them on the 14th of March, 1766,

* Pagets and Warwick.

yet on the 20th of July, 1768, he insisted that the Bermudians should enjoy unrestrained liberty to pursue their usual business.* Those who were most interested in the well being of the Turks-Islands memorialized the Legislature on the 27th of April, 1768, and after pointing out their value prayed, that as a grant had never been made by the Crown, they would petition that the Imperial Government should annex them to the Bermudas. The Chief Justice was requested by the Assembly to examine such persons on the subject, and to inquire into several grievances complained of by some rakers at Tortugas, and as most of the witnesses were stated to be old and infirm persons, he was requested to sit at the Lane for the purpose. This Governor Bruere peremptorily forbade.† An address was adopted by the House on these subjects and such evidence as could be procured accompanied it. The Assembly having experienced great difficulty in obtaining the Treasurers accounts, subjected them to a rigorous investigation, but eventually passed them in an amended form on the 12th of October. This greatly offended his Excellency and a correspondence of a warm nature ensued, but the House continuing firm and refusing to rescind the offensive vote, he dissolved them. Writs were immediately issued, but in consequence of some alteration in the form of the summons, the Legislature had no sooner been convened than they solicited the

* Isocrates ; Pamphlet on the Question of the Bahama Jurisdiction, p. 19, 21. See Appendix, M.

† These depositions were afterwards taken before the Hon. George Forbes, Thomas Smith, and John Harvey, on the 22nd of June following.

Governor to direct the Marshal to lay the documents before them. A series of questions were put to the Public Secretary, and as his answers admitted the charge complained of, the whole was recorded on the minutes and the clerk was directed to read them to His Excellency, who replied by defending his conduct. On receiving his message the House refused to proceed to business, and they were again dissolved, and writs in the usual form were issued for a new election.

Some attempts were at this period made to procure sufficient funds for erecting a college, and on application being made by the Rev. Thomas Lyttleton to the Legislature for pecuniary assistance to aid the work, they declared their willingness to give every encouragement to the proposal.

The Assembly met on the 13th of February, 1769, but it was destined to harmonize as little with Governor Bruere as the last House; the council having taken some steps which were construed into an infringement of the privileges of the Assembly, a dispute was the consequence, and the latter was dissolved by His Excellency, with strong marks of indignation, on the 23rd of June. Writs were again issued, and the House met on the 2nd of October, but they were not addressed until the 1st of November following; so far from condemning the proceedings of their predecessors they passed strong resolutions on the 3rd, declaring that the conduct of their ruler was "wanton and oppressive." These constant disputes retarded public business, and, as the rights of neither party were respected, the affairs of the government were

neglected, and not only did many of the colonial officers threaten to leave their situations if their pay were longer withheld, but the salary of the Governor himself was always considerably in arrear. In consequence of the illegal conduct of the treasurer appointed by His Excellency, the Assembly in the Supply Bill, for 1770, appointed their own receiver of taxes; this Act, on being sent to the council for their concurrence, was copied by the Governor and forwarded to the Secretary of State for the decision of His Majesty, and the House was adjourned from time to time awaiting the result. No communication was made to the Assembly on the subject until March, 1771, when a copy of a short dispatch from Lord Hillsborough was laid before them, which approved of the step taken by Governor Bruere. The country was now reduced to a deplorable state, with regard to its finances, and a motion was agreed to, to take the public grievances into consideration at their next meeting, and in order to have a full attendance the clerk of the House was directed to acquaint the members that it was necessary for them to be punctual; this Supply Bill was finally rejected after having been ten months before the Council. On the 4th of April, 1771, the House again met and proceeded to take the state of the islands into consideration, and, as a preliminary step, requested that copies of His Excellency's and Lord Hillsborough's correspondence might be laid before them; this the Governor harshly refused, and a sharp message followed. The altercation did not cease here, and to a speech made by His Excellency, charging

them with being the authors of all the real misfortunes of the place, and in the name of the people expressing disgust at their proceedings, they replied by repelling his accusations and declaring that they would act as they thought best for the interest of the islands, requesting him to remember that, although he had frequently dissolved them by a wanton exercise of his power, their constituents had uniformly returned them. An important resolution was entered upon the minutes of the Assembly during this session; upon the motion of Richard Jennings, Esq., it was "Resolved unanimously by the House, that they will give all possible encouragement to any capable person who may come to these islands and establish a proper press, and that a copy of this resolution be delivered by the clerk to the said Richard Jennings, to be transmitted to London as an inducement to any person who may be properly qualified for such an undertaking to come to the islands for that purpose." This gave general satisfaction as a public journal had long been earnestly desired by the inhabitants, who were impressed with the opinion that it would be impossible to support it without assistance from the colony.

The Bermudians were still dissatisfied with the regulations adopted at the Turks-Islands, and considered the exactions of Mr. Symmer as an infringement of their just right to rake salt, which had existed for one hundred years, and which had received the sanction of His Majesty's Government. On the 5th of August, 1768, the Legislature had petitioned their Sovereign on the subject, and on the 12th of October, following, Lord

Hillsborough,* in a letter to the Governor of the Bahamas, recognised the privileges of the Bermudians, and forwarded him copies of the documents verifying their address. The salt-rakers having thus attained their object in procuring the abolition of Mr. Symmer's constitution returned to their old mode of government, and chose certain commissioners to form rules for the proper regulation of the ponds. With these commissioners they, as a matter of course, associated His Majesty's representative, who, in consequence of a letter from the Secretary of State directing him to submit all his designs to the Governor of the Bahamas before they were enforced, carried them to Mr. Shirley to obtain his sanction. He, however, rejected them, and drew up others which in turn were indignantly refused by the Bermudians residing at the Turks-Islands. This exasperated Governor Shirley and he issued an order forbidding any person to gather salt who had not signed his code, at the same time directing the ponds to be laid out and divided only among his adherents to the exclusion of the majority of the rakers. The laws of the Bahamas were sent up for enforcement, which, among other taxes, exacted a tonnage duty of two shillings and threepence on all vessels loading with salt. These laws were openly resisted, and one individual, for presuming to collect salt when he had not signed the Governor's code, was arrested, sent to New Providence, and tried for a breach of the penal laws; he was acquitted, but his expences exceeded £100. These grievances were all laid before his

* Appendix N.

Majesty by the Legislature of Bermuda, and redress was prayed for.*

After several stormy sittings, the House was again dissolved, on the 15th of December, 1772, and a new one convened on the 15th of February in the year following. Another urgent memorial was presented to the Assembly as soon as they met, respecting the interruption of the Turks-Islands' business, and a joint committee of the Legislature met to investigate the business. Their report was, "That the Turks-Islands are of the utmost importance to the Islands of Bermuda, and that the loss of them or of the liberty of gathering salt there free of any molestation or interruption whatever, will tend not only to the impoverishment of the trade of the Islands of Bermuda, but in the end to the depopulation thereof," and they concluded by recommending an address to His Majesty. It must not be supposed that the language of this committee was an exaggeration of the state of the case. The trade in salt occupied a large portion of the population of the islands, who migrated annually, and produced the means of purchasing the necessary articles of food from the American provinces.

Mr. Lyttleton had not been idle on the subject of the proposed college and grammar school. His subscription list showed a very handsome amount, and he received assurances of encouragement and support from various islands in the West Indies; but although he had been promised assistance in his attempt by the

* Isocrates; Pamphlet on the Question of the Bahama Jurisdiction, pp. 24, 25.

Legislature, now that his plans were matured, they treated his memorial coldly, and it was ordered to lie on the table for consideration (1773). There is a striking similarity between the cases of Dr. Berkeley and Mr. Lyttleton; both appear to have been men actuated by the best motives, and both failed, not from any want of exertion on their part, but from a lack of punctuality on the part of those who ought to have furthered the plan in every possible way.

✓ The discontent in the American Provinces had at length broken out into open opposition to the Crown, and as the usual supplies from those places were in a great measure cut off, the Bermudians were often much distressed for provisions. In consequence of this, the Legislature prohibited the exportation of flour, bread, &c., except by special permission. This pernicious measure was objected to by the Governor, who procured the assurance of Lord Dunmore that the people should not starve if they were loyal and well affected.

During the night of the 14th of August, 1775, the powder magazine in St. George, containing a considerable quantity of ammunition, was forcibly entered, and the whole of the contents were removed. Nothing could exceed the indignation of Governor Bruere * when he received the intelligence, and he promptly called upon the Legislature to take

* It was so managed by the persons who committed this unwarrantable act that the powder was conveyed across the grounds in the vicinity of the Government House, in order to induce the inhabitants to suspect Mr. Bruere of participating in the robbery. It is easy to imagine what an effect this had on his irascible temper.

active measures for bringing the delinquents to justice. No evidence could ever be obtained, and the whole transaction is still enveloped in mystery. To judge fairly of this robbery the circumstances of the times must be considered. The people had no alternative but to starve or trade with their late fellow-subjects for the means of subsistence. This was interdicted, and the islands suffered great want in consequence; small vessels laden with provisions were purposely directed on the reefs and abandoned to be unloaded by boats. Such harsh treatment, together with the fact that many of the people possessed near relatives engaged in the struggle with the Crown, tended to destroy good feeling towards the British Government.

Governor Bruere let no opportunity escape him to accuse the Bermudians of disloyalty; and it cannot be wondered at if they overlooked the crime of treason when they assisted their friends in America with the contents of the magazine. The action cannot, however, be excused, and no doubt severe punishment would have been inflicted on the delinquents could they have been discovered. It was needless to add that the powder was supposed to have been conveyed to the provinces for the use of the insurgents.

On the 14th of May, 1776, the Governor informed the Assembly that he had received a letter from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, enclosing an Act passed in the Bahamas in February, 1774, for the better regulation and government of the salt ponds at the Turks-Islands, &c., and as that Act inflicted various penalties, and contained various regulations for the

conducting of a branch of commerce in which His Majesty's faithful subjects, the natives of Bermuda, were materially concerned, their lordships in their great goodness had thought fit to transmit to him a copy of the said Act, which was accompanied with a clause suspending its execution until His Majesty's pleasure should be known, and their lordships would defer making any report thereon until they were apprised by His Excellency whether any, or what, inconvenience would result to persons resorting from the Bermudas to the Turks-Islands. As this contained a very decided recognition of the claim of the colony to the Cays, the people were much pleased.

It was at this period (1775-6) that the Bermudians resorted to the Island of Ascension for the purpose of obtaining turtle and trading with the homeward-bound Indiamen.*

The scarcity of provisions in 1777 caused so much anxiety that the Legislature adopted strong measures to prevent grain from being exported, and in order to prevent extortion, the prices of various articles of daily use, such as yams, potatoes, wheat and corn, were fixed, and the quantities which vessels were permitted to take as stores were settled, but as they did not except His Majesty's ships, or leave anything to the discretion of the Governor, he refused his assent. On the 13th of July following, having taken offence at their proceedings, he abruptly dissolved them, in a manner, which they forthwith voted to be "unprecedented and unparliamentary."

* Cook's Voyages, vol. i., p. 590.

Two American brigs under republican colours arrived at this period from Carolina and remained some weeks at the west end of the Islands unmolested, although H. M. S. Nautilus lay in Castle Harbour during the whole time. Governor Bruere complained bitterly of this to the Assembly, who in their reply made some sarcastic observations on the courage of the commander of the Nautilus.* This discord was increased so materially by a message on the 27th of May, 1780, that the House indignantly resolved that measures should be taken, in connection with the Council, to petition His Majesty with reference to the misery arising "from the administration of His Excellency George James Bruere, Esq." This passed unanimously, and the Assembly immediately requested the Governor to adjourn them. On receiving this message, which was conveyed by two members, he abruptly turned his back upon them and told them that the House was already adjourned, and he would have no communication with them. This having been reported to the Assembly, they separated to meet on the 1st of July following. This extraordinary conduct would no doubt have been productive of the most bitter quarrels had the Legislature been permitted to meet the Governor again, but after proroguing the Assembly by two proclamations, he died on the 10th of September, and the administration devolved on the Hon. Thomas Jones.

* The excuse offered by Governor Bruere for the inactivity of the Captain of the Nautilus would hardly pass at the present period; the wind was said to be *ahead*.

It is probable that the colony was never in a more deplorable condition than during the troublesome rule of Governor Bruere; its finances were in a wretched and ruinous state. Measures proposed by the Legislature for the relief of the inhabitants were treated with contempt, and they were even taunted with the observation that they were governed solely by views of private interest. Throughout his long administration he acted without judgment or discretion.

CHAPTER V.

President Thomas Jones—Lieutenant-Governor George Bruere—Governor William Browne—Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton—Governors James Crawford—William Campbell—President Henry Tucker—Governor George Beckwith—President Henry Tucker—Governor John Hodgson.

PRESIDENT JONES was relieved in October, 1780, by George Bruere, Esq., as Lieutenant-Governor, who commenced his administration by a moderate speech to the Legislature on the 9th of that month, at the same time giving his reasons for refusing to assent to a Supply Bill, passed the 23rd of September. Upon due consideration, however, the House of Assembly decided on passing the Bill, as they were of opinion that His Honour's objections were not well founded, and they informed him of their decision on the 14th of October, by message, which he had no sooner received than he accused them of hurrying the measure whilst President Jones presided, dissolved them, and summoned another parliament to meet on the 13th of November.

During the years 1779 and 1780 a violent epidemic, called the gaol fever, raged throughout the islands. No proper accommodation had been provided for

prisoners of war, and they were crowded into the small public gaol, a building in every way inadequate to afford them even moderate accommodation. The report on the condition of the place, and state of the prisoners, shows that it was little better than the Black Hole at Calcutta, and can excite nothing but astonishment and horror.* From this criminal neglect of prisoners placed in their power by the fortune of war, a pestilence arose which spread rapidly, and filled the colony with mourning and alarm.

On the 18th of October, 1780, occurred one of those dreadful hurricanes to which tropical climates are subject. This storm is said to have surpassed in violence any which had ever been felt in the Bermudas; houses were blown down, trees torn up by the roots, and great damage was done to the shipping, not only from the violence of the wind, but from a considerable rise in the tide which occurred during the gale; so terrible was this storm that it is even now spoken of by the older inhabitants, who witnessed its effects, as "the great October gale." Governor Bruere was soon openly at variance with the Assembly, and he did not hesitate to accuse the people of treason in supplying the revolted provinces with salt. To his angry animadversions on this subject the Legislature replied that they knew their duty and would do it. The inhabitants had hardly any choice, as they must either have starved or continued to exchange salt with their late fellow-subjects for the common articles of food, and it cannot be wondered at that they chose

* This Report is too disgusting for insertion.

the latter. The British government appear to have viewed the trade in its proper light, and did not interfere; but Mr. Bruere, extremely exasperated at what he conceived to be treasonable conduct, commented on the circumstance in his message to the Assembly in no measured terms.

Some intercepted correspondence added fuel to the flame, and on the 15th of August, 1781, he addressed them in a speech which could not fail to be very offensive, although it contained much sound argument. This was followed by messages more bitter and acrimonious, all of which they treated with silent contempt until the 28th of September, when they discharged their wrath in an address which gave a flat denial to the statements advanced by His Honour, and otherwise most roughly handled him for his attacks on the inhabitants of the islands. This could not be permitted to pass unanswered, and the Lieutenant-Governor promptly addressed a message in reply, which was equally uncourteous in its tone; in a few hours after he dissolved the House, and issued writs for a general election. The Legislature met in November, and, with the exception of a sharp speech, no farther contention took place, and the arrival of his Excellency William Browne,* whose administration commenced on the 4th

* Mr. Browne was high in office in Massachusetts previously to the revolution, and was an unbending Tory. The following anecdote will serve to illustrate the character of the man; it is an extract from the proceedings of the Essex Delegates after the passing of the Boston Port Bill.—“The fifth resolve entered into at Ipswich was, That a committee be raised to wait upon the Hon. William Browne, Esq., of Salem, and acquaint him, that, with grief, this country has viewed his exer-

of January, 1782, put a period to Mr. Bruere's rule. In justice to this gentleman it should be remarked that his frequent disputes with the Legislature arose from a mistaken view of the situation of the people over whom he was placed. The high character of Governor Browne had preceded him in the colony, and he was joyfully received on his arrival. By birth a colonist, and native of one of the New England provinces, he was better able to judge of the wants of the islands, and of the measures necessary to their

tions for carrying into execution Acts of Parliament calculated to enslave and ruin his native land; that while the country would continue the respect for several years paid him, it firmly resolves to detach from every future connection all such as shall persist in supporting or in any way countenancing the late arbitrary acts of Parliament; that the Delegates, in the name of the country, request him to excuse them from the painful necessity of considering and treating him as an enemy to his country, and, therefore that he would resign his office as counsellor on the late establishment, and decline as a judge (and in every other capacity) to execute the late Acts of Parliament, and all others deemed by the Province unconstitutional and oppressive.

"Voted that Jemeriah Lee, Esq., Dr. Samuel Holden, and Mr. Elbridge Gery, be a committee to wait on the Hon. William Browne, Esq., and acquaint him with the foregoing resolve of the Essex Delegates.

"On the 9th instant the committee waited on William Browne, Esq. with the foregoing resolve, to which he gave, in writing, the following answer:—'Gentlemen,—I cannot consent to defeat His Majesty's intentions and disappoint his expectations by abandoning a post to which he has been graciously pleased to appoint me, an appointment made without my solicitation, or privity, and accepted by me from a sense of duty to the King with the hopes of serving my country; I wish, therefore, to give him no cause to suspect my fidelity, and I assure you I will do nothing without a due regard to their true interest.

"'As a judge, and in every other capacity, I intend to act with honour and integrity and to exert my best abilities; and be assured that neither persuasion can allure me, nor shall menaces compel me, to do anything derogatory to the character of a counsellor of His Majesty's province of Massachusetts.—Wm. Browne.'"

Gentleman's Magazine, for 1774.

welfare than persons whose whole lives had been spent in England, or on the continent of Europe. His first speech to the Legislature was conciliatory, and the impression made by it was never disturbed. The whale fishery, which was restricted to such persons as purchased licenses from the Governor, for which they paid a considerable sum, was, immediately after his arrival, declared open to all who chose to engage in it.

Up to this period (1783) there had never been a printing-press in the colony, and as a newspaper was greatly desired by most of the inhabitants, the Legislature, in order to induce some respectable printer to settle at the place, resolved that a proper provision should be made in the Supply Bill of that year. A definite vote induced a Mr. Stockdale to emigrate from London for the purpose, and the first newspaper was issued on the 17th of January, 1784, with the title of "The Bermuda Gazette."

The Assembly having made some enactment, altering the law of entail, and placing the management of wrecks in the hands of certain individuals, a petition, numerously signed, was presented to the Governor, describing the two Acts as ruinous, and contrary to the wishes of the people, and praying him to dissolve the House. This naturally gave great offence to the Legislature, who, by message, requested the perusal of the document, which was granted by His Excellency. As the first law was a very proper one; the Assembly found no difficulty in procuring the approbation of their constituents when it was explained, and many of the persons who signed the petition declared that they

did so ignorantly. At their next meeting the House passed a series of strong resolutions, and the matter ended.

The inconvenience to which the inhabitants of the upper and middle parishes were subjected in consequence of being compelled to resort to St. George to transact general business, made them desirous of another town which might be central and easy of access to the whole country. That part of the parish of Pembroke forming the northern shore of the Lane Harbour, had been frequently pointed out as the most proper situation for the purpose, and a lady who was a large landed proprietor in the island * was induced to consent that her property should be laid out in town lots, which were advertised for sale by auction on the 2nd of September. This arrangement was open to the objection of being a private contract without the privileges of the proposed township being sufficiently defined, but it was hoped that an Act might, in time, be procured for its incorporation. This plan was strongly opposed by persons whose interests were concerned in St. George, and it was ridiculed as absurd. The doors of the Assembly were at this period (1784) thrown open to the public on the motion of Henry Tucker, Esq.† Vacancies having occurred in 1785 in the representation of Pembroke and Devonshire, writs were issued, but the freeholders were dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Assembly, and

* Mrs. Elizabeth Smith.

† It is singular that the debates of the Assembly should have been conducted with closed doors for such a period of years.

refused to exercise their elective right. A motion was in consequence made in the House on the 21st of April to disfranchise them, but it was not entertained.

On the 12th of June, 1787, a Bill was introduced and read the first time, for removing the seat of government from the Town of St. George to a more central situation. The Home-Government having recommended Governor Browne to encourage the cultivation of cotton, the Legislature, at his instance, passed a law in 1788, granting loans of money to such landed proprietors as would engage to turn their attention to the growth of this commodity. This induced many persons to engage in the business, but as shipbuilding was more profitable, it was soon abandoned. It is pleasing to observe how steadily the colony continued to flourish under the judicious management of Governor Browne, who, far from imitating the arbitrary and high-handed measures of his predecessors in office, conducted the business of the colony in the greatest harmony with the different branches of the Legislature. He found the financial affairs of the islands in a confused and ruinous state, and left them flourishing. On the 15th of October, 1788, he left for England, deeply and sincerely regretted by the people, and was succeeded by His Honour Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor, on the 28th.

Several enterprising persons fitted out vessels for the purpose of prosecuting the fishery on the Newfoundland Banks, and it is probable that they would have been successful, had not an act of the Imperial

Parliament been passed for the purpose of preventing any of the British Colonies abroad from engaging in that trade. Governor Elliott, of Newfoundland, formally warned Governor Hamilton that he would not permit the trade to be continued. This was an unfortunate event, as great expectations had been formed of success in this fishery, and there is every reason to believe that the well known enterprise of the Bermudians would have rendered it highly important and lucrative.

The scarcity of provisions was so great that in 1790 fears were entertained of a famine, and the Governor drew the attention of the Legislature to the state of the colony and requested them to adopt some course to save a starving people. The struggle with the Bahama Government for the sovereignty of the Turks-Islands had never abated, and it was found necessary to transmit a statement of the Bermuda claims to the Home-Government, which was done by the Legislature on the 7th of May. In reply to this the Secretary of State informed Governor Hamilton "that no measure should be suffered to take place which could in any wise affect the Bermudians engaged in making salt at Turks-Islands, without the Legislature of his island first receiving notice of such measure." * This assurance was extremely gratifying to the people, and they were induced to hope that their difficulties with the Bahama authorities were at an end.

* Isocrates; Pamphlet on the Question of the Bahama Jurisdiction, p. 32.

The principle commerce of the colony was, in 1790, conducted by persons residing in the vicinity of the basin called the Great Sound, and as it was extremely inconvenient for the owners of vessels to go such a distance as to St. George for the purpose of transacting their business, strong efforts were made to induce his Majesty's government to permit the trade of the islands to be collected in a more central situation. The township contemplated on the south shore of the parish of Pembroke, in 1784, on the lands of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, was permitted to languish until the Legislature at this period selected the same spot as the place best calculated to suit all parties, and took measures to encourage the building of a town to which they gave the name of Hamilton, in compliment to the Governor. A survey was made by the authority of the Assembly, land to the extent of one hundred and forty acres was selected, and arrangements were made for its purchase in May, 1790. The value was afterwards ascertained by a jury, but this mode did not meet with the approbation of the whole House, as it was considered arbitrary. The committee, under whose management the business had been conducted, received additional instructions by resolutions of the Assembly, and were directed to proceed with the sale of lots under certain restrictions. This body consisted of the Hon. Andrew Durnford, William Hall, Richard J. Peniston, Daniel Tucker, William Duns court, and Benjamin Cox, Esquires. The plan of the town was afterwards considerably extended, and it was incorporated on the 30th of June, 1793.

A quantity of copper coin was, during this year, struck in England, by royal permission, for the use of the colony, and was issued in 1794, the year following.

Governor Hamilton was relieved on the 30th of October, 1794, by His Excellency James Crauford, to the regret of the inhabitants, who could not fail to be attached to their late ruler, whose administration was impartial and satisfactory. Every encouragement was now offered by the Home-Government to privateers; the people acted with their usual energy, and by their activity contributed not a little to distressing the enemy in the vicinity of the islands. The Bermudas are indeed admirably situated for this description of desultory warfare.

Governor Crauford was averse to the encouragement of a town in Pembroke, and refused to permit prize-vessels to be adjudicated there. Against this decision the Legislature remonstrated, as it was prejudicial to the general interests of the colony.*

Admiral Murray having recommended the establishment of a dockyard at the Bermudas to His Majesty's government, the Legislature was summoned on the 6th of October, 1795, for the purpose of furthering so desirable an object by such grants or enactments as

* The following amusing and laconic petition was presented to the Assembly in 1794:—

“The humble petition of Thomas Louis, signal man at Fort Paget. Sheweth, That your petitioner is now in years, that he has served faithfully in his situation fifteen years, that his wife has lately died and has left him three or four small children to feed, that he hopes the House of Assembly will be so good as to buy him a cow. And their petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray. T. Louis.”

should be required. The inhabitants of the islands were fully aware of the advantages to be derived from such an important establishment, and the Assembly readily complied with His Excellency's requisition, and declared their willingness to offer every facility. The place selected by Captain Pinder, R.N., was the small island now called Ireland, on which the establishment was afterwards placed. Several sloops-of-war were built in the colony in 1796,* and the Legislature encouraged seamen to man them by offering considerable bounties.

Governor Crauford was strongly suspected of entertaining Jacobinical principles, and some charges were preferred against him at home. He was in consequence superseded, and His Excellency William Campbell was appointed to the office. He did not, however, await the arrival of his successor, but on the 22nd of October he resigned, and proceeded to New York. The administration then devolved on the President of the Council, the Honourable Henry Tucker. A fever of a very malignant nature made its appearance during this year (1796) at the West-End, and gradually travelled eastward.

Governor Campbell arrived on the 22nd of November and assumed the command, which he, however, held only eight days, as he died on the 1st of December of the prevailing distemper, and was buried at St. George on the 3rd; President Tucker, of course, succeeding him.

* Among them were the Bermuda, Hunter, Ranger, Driver, and Dasher.

The Act for the incorporation of the town of St. George passed the Legislature in 1794, four years after that for Hamilton. It is rather singular that the inhabitants of the former town had not before applied for this privilege.

Governor George Beckwith arrived on the 24th of February, 1798, in H. M. S. *Hinde*, and forthwith commenced his administration. A vote of thanks was proposed and carried in the Assembly to Admiral Murray for his patronage of the islands, not only in recommending the establishment of a naval depôt, but for the employment of the mechanics of the place in building several ships for His Majesty's service of the timber of the colony. Previous to his command the Bermudas had been shunned by the navy as incapable of affording them shelter, but, after a careful survey, that distinguished officer ordered the *Cleopatra* frigate to enter the channel and proceed to the roadstead now called by his name.* She anchored in safety to the joy of the inhabitants who were fully sensible of the advantage gained. Although there can be no doubt but the peculiar position of the islands would, at a later period, have attracted the attention of the British Government for naval purposes, yet it is certain that much of the prosperity of the colony is due to the perseverance of Admiral Murray.

In 1799 the Methodist Conference sent the Rev. John Stephenson to preach the Gospel in the Bermudas, and directed his efforts more particularly to the black and coloured population. This was viewed as an

* Murray's Anchorage.

unpardonable offence by the authorities, and Governor Beckwith thought it necessary to call the attention of the Legislature to the circumstance, on the 25th of February, 1800, and recommended the Assembly to adopt measures to prevent it should they deem it necessary. They determined to put a stop to Mr. Stephenson's efforts, and, on the 25th of April, a Bill was submitted to the Assembly to prevent persons pretending, or having pretended, to be ministers of the gospel as missionaries from any religious society whatever, and not invested with holy orders, according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England or that of Scotland, from acting as preachers or school-masters under certain restrictions.* This passed the House with but one dissenting voice; Mr. Richard J. Peniston saw the illiberality of the measure and honourably refused to sanction it.

A Mr. Pallas having offered his house for the purpose Mr. Stephenson preached in it, for which they were both arrested and committed to the common jail in St. George. Mr. Pallas was soon liberated on bail, which was at first refused for his companion, who was brought to trial for the offence. An eloquent defence was made by Mr. Esten, his advocate, but to no purpose, as he was condemned to six months imprisonment, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and to discharge all the costs of the Court. The following memento, carved in the floor of the cell in which he was confined, is still to be seen:—"John Stephenson, Methodist Missionary, was imprisoned in this jail six

* Appendix O.

months for preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ to the poor negroes." At the period when this disgraceful occurrence took place there was but one ordained clergyman of the Established Church to serve in eight parishes, and the offices of religion were performed but once in each parish in three weeks, with the exception of Warwick, where the Presbyterians had a Kirk.* This Act was disallowed at home, and it does not appear to have been sanctioned by the people, as the grand jury, at the ensuing June assizes, presented it as a violation of the rights of the subject.

Some differences having arisen between the Council and the Assembly, the former rejected the annual Bill of Supply ; after in vain endeavouring to bring them to a better understanding the Governor dissolved them on the 12th September, and issued writs for an election. He was not however more fortunate in the members of the new House, and they were dissolved on the 16th of December. The objections made by the Council to the Supply Bill in question were undoubtedly reasonable, but it may be doubted if this extreme exercise of their power was discreet, as the colony was subjected to great inconvenience in consequence.

On the 19th of February, 1801, a smart shock of an earthquake, of several seconds duration, was felt throughout the islands ; the vibrations were from the

* Any attempt to instruct the negroes was, however, at a much later period, viewed with feelings of great indignation by slaveowners, witness the destruction of the chapel at Barbadoes, and persecution of Smith at Demerara. See Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1824; also Parliamentary Report.

north-west towards the south-east, and although severe they fortunately did no damage.* Governor Beckwith sailed on the 8th of April, 1803, in the Pleasant sloop of war, for Halifax, Nova Scotia, and the administration again devolved on President Tucker. Although the colony was distressed by the dissensions of the Council and Assembly, yet Governor Beckwith cannot be blamed for their want of harmony, as he exerted himself on every occasion to induce them to lay aside their differences, but the disgraceful circumstances connected with Mr. Stephenson must ever remain a dark stain on the history of his administration.

In 1804 the cowpox was introduced from Carolina, and was received as a blessing by the inhabitants, who had been subject to that dreadful malady, the small-pox, from the earliest period of the settlement of the place.

On the 13th of June, the militia had an opportunity to display their gallantry: several ships made their appearance off the west end of the islands, and as they continued to hover suspiciously about, the authorities became alarmed and ordered the troops and militia under arms. The forts were manned and the whole disposable force of the place was marched to the expected point of attack in the parish of Southampton, but, to the regret of the fire-eaters, the enemy proved to be H. M. S. Fortune, and some

* It is probable that Bermuda has at some period suffered severely from earthquakes, as the root of a cedar was, some few years past dragged from a shoal in the harbour of Hamilton.

American ships ; the alarm subsided, and the gallant soldiers, like the King of France, "marched up the hill and then—marched down again."

The Committee of the Privy Council, to whom the question relative to the jurisdiction over the Turks-Islands was referred, at length decided that they were within the limits of the Bahama Government, but that it would be expedient that the Governor of the Bahamas should receive instructions not to pass any Act that should make the community, or resorters to those islands, liable to any colonial tax. Thus ended all claim, on the part of the Bermudas, to a settlement formed by their enterprize, and which had been, and still was, of the utmost importance to their trade. It is probable that the Turks-Islands would either have been annexed to the Bermudas, or would have been placed under some simple administration of their own, had the Legislature faithfully performed its duty at this period, and enforced their just claim to the jurisdiction of the Cays ; but unhappily there is too much reason to believe that selfish views of private interest prevailed over the public good ; by their misconduct the Bahama Government became possessed of a colony small and insignificant in itself, but through its staple, salt, yielding a handsome revenue.

In January, 1804, the poet Moore arrived at Bermuda,* in H. M. S. *Driver*, from Norfolk, to fill the situation of Registrar of the Court of Admiralty, an

* Some very beautiful effusions were written by the Poet when in Bermuda, and there is a pretty spot at Walsingham where, under a calabash tree, he is said to have written.

office of considerable emolument at one period. He did not remain long in the islands as he left about the middle of April, in H. M. S. Boston, for New York, after appointing a deputy to discharge the duties of his office.*

President Tucker was relieved, on the 29th of April, 1805, by Lieutenant-Governor Francis Gore, who left the colony on the 13th of June, 1806, when Mr. Tucker again assumed the government, which he had so often, and so satisfactorily, administered.

Governor John Hodgson arrived on the 31st of July following, and Mr. Tucker for the last time resigned his important office. The urbanity and ability which so distinguished President Tucker, whilst at the head of affairs, justly endeared him to the people, and it was always with sincere regret that they saw him relieved. Throughout his different administrations the greatest harmony prevailed in the Legislature, and by observing a proper respect for their privileges, whilst he upheld the dignity of his own station, he succeeded in carrying beneficial measures without discord. His noblest monument was the respect and affection of the people, who had yet greater reason to regret him during the stormy rule of his immediate successors.†

* So far from deriving any benefit from his office Mr. Moore was a considerable sufferer. He was superseded, in 1844, on the representation of Governor Reid, in consequence of continued absence.

† Bermuda has reason to be proud of this family. There were four brothers, who, by their individual exertions, attained considerable eminence; President Tucker, the eldest, rose to the highest office in his native land; Thomas Tucker, M.D., became Treasurer of the United

Governor Hodgson commenced his administration with considerable popularity by announcing the pleasing intelligence that it was the intention of the Home-Government to form a naval depôt in the colony. Since Admiral Murray's favourable representations, the naval commanders-in-chief had been in the habit of spending some time in the islands, and as the inhabitants were fully sensible of the benefits accruing from this intercourse, every disposition was shewn by the Legislature to conduce to their comfort and convenience. Admiral Berkeley, in 1807, decided on St. George as the place most proper for the purpose; but the Assembly having made liberal grants when Ireland was fixed upon some years prior to that date, they requested that this important matter might be referred to the Home-Government for their decision. The Governor did not approve of their proceedings in this respect, and his reply to their message was by no means calculated to produce future harmony.

Considerable distress prevailed in the islands for want of the most common articles of food, the supplies of which were at this period very precarious. It appears strange that no efforts were made by the inhabitants to cultivate Indian corn, and barley, articles

States of America; Nathaniel Tucker, ~~M.D.~~, as a literary character of celebrity, was one of the three persons appointed to translate the works of Baron Swedenborg; and St. George Tucker was President of Saint Mary's College, Williamsbury, Chief Justice of the United States of America, and Editor of "Tucker's Blackstone's Commentaries." The Hon. Henry St. George Tucker, late one of the Directors of the East India Company, is a son of the President, and, as he rose to that high office by his own abilities, he certainly inherited the talents of his esteemed father.

D. D.

in most common use, and which the islands were capable of producing in abundance.

By the death of the Hon. Henry Tucker, the responsible office of treasurer to the colony became vacant, and the Governor nominated the Hon. William Smith, and called upon the Speaker of the Assembly, the Hon. James Tucker, to attend at Government House on the 11th of April, 1808, to assist at his qualification. At the time when the Act, under which Governor Hodgson made this appointment, was passed,* the colonial revenue fell considerably short of the expenditure, and, as there then appeared to be little prospect of a surplus in the treasury, the security required to be given was fixed at the minimum sum of £1000. The circumstances of the case, however, being, after a lapse of time, reversed by an overflowing chest, the Speaker did not consider himself at liberty to qualify Mr. Smith, and accordingly refused. This was announced to the Assembly by the Speaker at their first meeting on the 3rd of May, and before they had time to deliberate on the subject, a message was received from His Excellency requesting the appointment of a committee for the purpose, and also informing them of Mr. Tucker's refusal. The House replied by requesting farther time for deliberation, and appointed a committee to report on the regulations respecting the Public Treasury. The nature of this report was at variance with the course adopted by the Governor, and

* It passed the Assembly on the 30th of November, 1774, and was published on the Parade at St. George (the usual mode of giving publicity to the laws at the time) on the 28th of February, 1775.

it was decided that some further regulations were required. Another message was sent down to the House by His Excellency on the 7th, expressed in courteous terms, but remonstrating with them for their delay in complying with a law made by a former Legislature. On the same day the report of the committee was adopted and transmitted to the Governor, who replied by commenting on the inconsistency of compelling laws to yield to intended regulations, and deploring the misfortunes they were about to bring on the colony. He then dissolved them by proclamation. The House met again on the 27th of June, 1808, and re-elected their last speaker. This was highly offensive to the Governor, and by message he briefly announced his disapprobation of their choice and directed them to return to the House from whence they came and select another, and present him at one o'clock. By this extreme exercise of the prerogative, (a step which had but one precedent in the history of the islands,) he gave great offence, and called forth increased opposition to his wishes. A motion was made by Mr. Van Norden to proceed to the choice of another speaker, but the House, indignant at the conduct of Governor Hodgson, by a sweeping majority resolved to support their first election, and an address was accordingly carried, expressive of their determination, which His Excellency declined receiving until they had chosen another speaker. On the following day he prorogued them by causing Mr. Secretary Atkinson to affix his proclamation to the Sessions-House door whilst they were deliberating. They again met on the

11th of July, and, on the 13th, the same address, having been carried by the same majority, His Excellency again dissolved them by causing his proclamation to be affixed, as before, to the door of the building. Writs were forthwith issued, and the Legislature met on the 29th of August following; the late speaker, the Hon. James Tucker, declined offering himself on this occasion, although solicited to do so by his fellow-parishioners, and he received the thanks of his constituents at the hustings for his long services as their representative.

On the 31st, the Hon. John Noble Harvey was proposed as the Speaker of the House, and was elected without a dissenting voice; on presenting himself he was approved by the Governor, and in the usual way he laid claim to the customary privileges, which were graciously promised. The speech at the opening of the session fully convinced the Assembly that His Excellency had no intention of relinquishing his object, and a message from him shortly after requested a committee to qualify the Treasurer, which was, after a division, refused. The party in the Assembly who were of opinion that the course adopted by the Governor with regard to this officer was constitutional had suffered a diminution, but the votes they lost did not swell the opposition, and one of the party (Mr. Goodrich) brought forward a motion, on the 3rd of September, to address a message to His Excellency which, although not exactly yielding the ground by either party, was calculated to effect an accommodation; but in this course he was only supported by his own party.

Shortly after this a message was received from the Governor complaining of the conduct of the House, and they were again dissolved by proclamation.

The Court of Chancery issued a mandamus to the Speaker, commanding him absolutely to attend at the qualification of the Treasurer, which he declined doing as the objection had not been removed. Upon this a peremptory mandamus was issued, commanding him absolutely to attend for the purpose, and, on his again refusing, a writ of attachment was issued, under which he was apprehended, and committed to the jail at St. George, where he remained, cheered by the sympathy of the people generally, until released by the meeting of the Legislature on the 30th of February, 1809, when Samuel Trott, Esq. was unanimously elected Speaker of the House, and approved by the Governor. A committee was again called for, and, after adjournment to the 3rd of February, resolutions were passed on the subject of the invasion of the privileges of the Assembly, and declaring that the Act of the Court of Chancery, in committing their late Speaker to gaol, was not only oppression, and a gross infraction of the constitutional rights of the Colonial Parliament, but an indignity offered to the people. After this it is unnecessary to add that the application for a committee was refused, and the House was again dissolved by a proclamation affixed to the door of the place in which they were assembled. .

They met again on the 21st of September, and the Hon. Samuel Trott was again elected Speaker by a large majority, but in a brief message his Excellency

declared his disapprobation, and requested another choice. The House was fully determined to withstand this unusual exercise of the prerogative, and accordingly having declined to re-elect a Speaker, they were addressed by the Governor, who declared that his aim had ever been to promote the interests of the colony, and that he could not give a surer pledge of the sincerity of his profession than by expressing his determination to oppose all seditious and factious proceedings; and with this ended all further intercourse between them, as he never reassembled them during his administration. The mischief which arose from these dissensions was serious in the extreme, as no measure for the public welfare was passed during this struggle for power. It cannot be denied that Governor Hodgson in requiring no more than the usual security from Mr. Smith, was merely exercising a right vested in him by the Treasury Act of 1774-5, nor can it be gainsayed that he had full authority to refuse to accept the Speaker when presented by the Assembly, but his pertinacious adherence in a course which he had proved would not be sanctioned by the people, who, when appealed to, returned the same representatives, was anything but discreet, as he should have been aware that there could be but one alternative, viz., to yield, or resign the government. As either course could not but be deeply mortifying, a prudent man would have avoided both, by yielding a point which was in itself immaterial, or, at least, admitted of a question. When it was evident from the disposition of the electors, that

the Assembly would always be of the same opinion, it was not only a useless opposition on his part, but was actually a misuse of his high office, into which he should never have permitted himself to have been betrayed. His uncourteous and uncereemonious mode of dissolving the Assembly was highly unbecoming as it reflected no honour on himself, and was degrading to a branch of the Legislature which he, as the head of the whole, was bound duly to respect.

General Hodgson continued to administer the government, amidst the murmurs of the inhabitants, until the 20th of June, 1810, when he left the colony, and President Trott succeeded to the command.

CHAPTER VI.

President Trott—Governor Sir James Cockburn—President William Smith—Lieutenant-Governor George Horsford—Governor Sir James Cockburn—President William Smith—Governor Sir James Cockburn—President William Smith—Governor Sir William Lumley—President William Smith—Governor Sir Hilgrove Turner—Acting Governor Robert Kennedy—Governor Sir Hilgrove Turner—Acting Governor Robert Kennedy—Governors Sir Hilgrove Turner—Sir Stephen R. Chapman—Acting Governor Henry G. Hunt—Robert Kennedy—Governors Sir Stephen R. Chapman—Lieutenant-Colonel William Reid.

MR. TROTT continued in office until the arrival of Governor Sir James Cockburn on the 31st of August, 1811, who opened the Colonial Parliament in form on the 11th of October, and informed them that he had taken an additional five thousand pounds security from the Treasurer, thus by his first act yielding the point for which his predecessor had so firmly contended. Sir James left the colony in July, 1812, when the command devolved on His Honour William Smith. This year was memorable for the commencement of the war between Great Britain and the United States. An American squadron lay ready at New York to strike a first blow immediately after a secret sitting

of Congress, and two objects were proposed to the American Council, namely to seize either the homeward bound West India fleet, or the Bermudas; it is said that the first project was adopted by a casting vote only. Thus the colony had a narrow escape from capture, as it cannot be doubted but the attempt, although a bold one, would at that time have been completely successful.*

President Smith was relieved, on the 14th of September, by Lieutenant-Governor George Horsford, who administered the government with popularity until the return of his Excellency, Sir James Cockburn, on the 24th of July, 1814. Since the incorporation of Hamilton, the inhabitants of the upper and middle parishes had never ceased their efforts to obtain a removal of the seat of government from St. George, and it added not a little to the pleasure of Governor Cockburn's return when he announced that his efforts had been successful, and the Home-Government had consented to the measure. This had throughout been warmly, but very naturally, opposed by the inhabitants of St. George, who foresaw that the commercial advantages of the place would be greatly deteriorated in consequence.

The Legislature having, on the 2nd of December, 1814, informed the Governor, by an address, that proper temporary accommodation had been provided at Hamilton for the public offices, his Excellency replied that the 1st of January, 1815, was named for the removal to take place. The gratitude of the majority

* James's Naval History; Action of H.M.S. Belvidere.

of the Assembly was not, however, confined to mere words, as they passed the following resolution, on the 22nd of December, 1814 :—

“ Resolved as a testimony of our sense of the benefits resulting to the colony from the Administration of His Excellency, Sir James Cockburn, Bart., Governor and Commander-in-chief, generally, and more especially in his zeal and successful exertions to obtain for these islands the improvement and extension of our commerce by the late Free Port Acts, and in removing, with the gracious permission of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, the seat of His Majesty’s government to these Islands from the town of St. George to the town of Hamilton, that the sum of Four thousand pounds* be granted to His Excellency ; and hereby His Excellency is authorised to receive from the public Treasury the sum of Four thousand pounds on or before the eighteenth day of January next, to be invested in a service of plate, or in such other manner as may most fitly hand down to posterity a grateful memorial of the general good which the measures of His Excellency’s administration have conferred on the Bermuda Islands. And the public Treasurer is hereby authorised and required to pay to the order of His Excellency the said sum of Four thousand pounds on, or before, the eighteenth day of January next.

“ By order of the House.

“ JOHN NOBLE HARVEY, Speaker.”

This was of course opposed by the members for St. George, who were not at all desirous of complimenting

* About £2,400 sterling.

Sir James Cockburn on the change he had effected, but as the removal of the seat of government to Hamilton (which is nearly in the centre of the islands), was deemed a great public convenience, the majority of the public acquiesced in the decision of their representatives. It is the duty of the historian impartially to relate facts, leaving the world to comment on the nature of a transaction assuming so questionable a shape, and so entirely at variance with the instructions of the governors of the present day.* The removal accordingly took place, and the Assembly met, for the first time, at Hamilton on the 23rd of January, 1815.

The clergy had, from the earliest period of the history of the islands, been not only indifferently remunerated, but frequently had great difficulty in collecting the small allowance made them from the Treasury. This had been made frequent matter of complaint by the governors to the Legislature, and Governor Cockburn, in opening the session of 1816, pressed the House to place them on a more liberal footing.

The property called St. John's Hill was purchased at a considerable expense to the colony and vested in His Majesty and his heirs as a residence for the Naval Commander-in-Chief. This place, now known as Clarence Hill, was admirably situated for the purpose, and has ever since continued to be occupied by the admiral, for the time being, when in Bermuda.

The plan of the Rev. M. Lyttleton for the establish-

* The people of St. George had, in this way, the mortification to be compelled to pay for an Act which materially injured their town.

ment of a college in the islands, had never been wholly lost sight of, and an Act was introduced in 1816 for erecting and partially endowing such an establishment on lands bequeathed for the purpose in the parish of Devonshire. This was in consequence carried into execution, and a suitable building erected for the purpose, but for want of energy, the establishment was allowed to languish, and in the course of a few years it was finally abandoned. This neglect on the part of the persons entrusted with the management of the college is the more inexcusable when it is stated that the Legislature in order to found what they thought to be a great public blessing, sold the various lands which had been appropriated by the Bermuda Company for educational purposes throughout the islands, and employed the proceeds for the benefit of this institution.*

Governor Cockburn again left the colony on the 8th of July, 1816, and the administration devolved on the Hon. William Smith. Sir James resumed his duties after his return, on the 11th of November, 1817. The establishment of a naval depôt, and the exclusive privilege of trading with the United States for supplies for the British West Indies, produced a favourable change in the affairs, and on the trade, of the islands generally. Considerable confusion was at this period discovered in the affairs of the Treasury in consequence of the defective method pursued in keep-

* The fine building, and tract of land attached to it, have remained untenanted for several years, and the former is now in a half ruinous state.

ing the public accounts, and the Assembly found it necessary to appoint a committee to examine and report upon them. This report was laid before the House on the 11th of June, 1818, and contained a voluminous exposition of the errors complained of. The Governor notified to the Treasurer his disapprobation of the loose and irregular manner in which the business of his department had been conducted, but at the same time, acquitted him of blame. This did not satisfy the Assembly, as a strong resolution was passed at the sitting on the 10th of April, 1819, which was transmitted to His Excellency who expressed his disapprobation of the course adopted, whilst he consented to place the matter in the hands of the Attorney-General.

Some difference of opinion arose between the Council and the Assembly on the subject of the taxes levied by the Annual Bill of Supply, the former objecting to the Tonnage Duty and Transient Tax. This the latter considered a violation of their rights and privileges, and refused to agree to the alteration. The Act was in consequence rejected by the Council, to the great exasperation of the Assembly.

Governor Cockburn having obtained leave of absence, took leave of the Legislature on the 14th of April, 1819, in an address, recommending to them union in their deliberations, and expressing his regret at parting. By leaving the administration of the government at the moment when the rejection of the Supply Bill had made a breach between the Council and Assembly, Sir James Cockburn left a burning brand for his suc-

cessor, which required the utmost caution to extinguish, but which in the hands of Governor Lumley soon increased to a storm of fire.

His Honour President Smith succeeded to the command. As the Assembly delayed to pass another Bill of Supply, and as the necessities of the islands called for one, they were dissolved on the 29th of April, and another House was summoned in June. On the 26th of November following, His Excellency Sir William Lumley arrived, and relieved the President.

During the Summer of the years 1818, and 1819, the colony was visited by that terrible scourge the yellow-fever, which for a time affected by its ravages, in some degree, almost every individual in the community, and spread a gloom throughout the island, which was not easily dissipated.

The first measures of Governor Lumley were calculated to render him unpopular. It had been customary for the garrison chaplain of St. George to perform the service at an early hour on Sunday mornings to the troops, as their numbers would not admit of their attendance during the usual hours of divine service; but to the inconvenience and annoyance of the parishioners of St. George he ordered the aisles of the Church, (which are narrow and entirely unsuited for such a purpose,) to be appropriated to the use of the garrison, who were directed to attend at the usual hours. This unnecessary interference was resisted by the people, at first by a respectful address, but as they received an uncourteous reply, they directed the vestry to take the opinion of counsel on the subject,

which opinion was in their favour, and adverse to the step taken by His Excellency, who soon proceeded to conduct himself in a manner which could not fail to embroil him with the whole community. At a very early period in the history of the islands, an Act had been enforced for levying a tax of gunpowder on all vessels trading to the place. This was stored for public use, as the expense of maintaining the fortifications, and providing ammunition for a long period, had rested entirely on the colony. This tax was in some cases found to be inconvenient, as transient traders were not at all times prepared to pay in kind, and Acts were passed in 1742, and 1744, permitting the amount to be paid in money at the will of the Commander-in-Chief for the time being. The money so raised was termed the Powder Fund. Until the year 1808, whenever any part of this was appropriated to general purposes it was by the joint voices of the three branches of the Legislature; and the Public Secretary, who was also receiver of the fund, was held legally responsible for the amount until the votes were distinctly and separately passed by the Governor, Council, and Assembly. The Acts of 1742, and 1744, though well known to have been in existence, were not to be found when Governor Hodgson, in the absence of the usual Bill of Supply, adopted the expedient of appropriating the money, which he was authorised to do with the consent of the Council only, by the original Act. Shortly before the arrival of Governor Lumley they were accidentally discovered, and it was found by their clauses that the votes of the whole of

the Legislature were required, as was supposed, for its expenditure. These laws, which were in manuscript, Sir William refused to notice, and continued to direct the Secretary to pay sums of money for various purposes. This conduct was of course resented by the Assembly, who viewed the proceeding as arbitrary, and a series of resolutions, condemning the Governor, were passed on the 16th of March, 1820, and handed him by order of the House. Steps were at the same time taken for the prosecution of the Powder Receiver, with the view of deciding the question.

An Act was passed at this period, (1820,) providing for a suitable number of clergymen of the Established Church and dividing the island into rectories. It was passed for thirty years, the good policy of which may be doubted.

The proceedings of the Assembly gave great offence to His Excellency, (between whom and the Assembly no cordiality existed in consequence of his rejection of the Supply Bill) and he commented on them in strong terms of censure at the prorogation of the House on the 1st of May following. Shortly after this the Governor thought proper to summon a gentleman of St. George before a magistrate's court to answer for some expressions respecting his public conduct, and, to the astonishment of the people, presided himself, thus uniting the two characters of prosecutor and judge. At the opening of the court one of the magistrates * was told that he was no longer in the commission of the peace, and His Excel-

* Mr. Till.

lency went so far as to threaten him on the spot. Notwithstanding the legal opinions which had been forwarded to the Governor he still persisted in ordering the troops to occupy the aisles of the church, and the principal inhabitants of the town called a public meeting, to take place at the town-hall, for the purpose of petitioning His Majesty's Government for relief. Many persons accordingly met on the 17th of June, but on applying to the Mayor for the keys of the town-hall he refused to deliver them, as he was forbidden to do so, at his peril, by His Excellency. The meeting was finally organized in the street, and Mr. Till, the recently dismissed magistrate, presided.

The Assembly was dissolved in July, by written proclamation, as the press of the colony so severely reflected on the conduct of Governor Lumley that it was not patronized by the Colonial Government.

The Legislature was again opened on the 2nd of April, 1821, but the address to the Assembly, and their reply, did not promise much harmony during the session. In consequence of the arbitrary measures of the Governor they were at length compelled to appeal to the Crown, and from that moment they were at open war. Among other unjustifiable acts at this time His Excellency suspended Chief Justice the Hon. James C. Esten from his office, and seat in the council; this unceremonious removal of the first judge of the colony was a stretch of power that filled the people with astonishment.*

* Mr. Esten proceeded immediately to England, and was promptly restored to office by the Government.

At a meeting of the vestry of St. George, held on the 17th of June, 1820, they resolved, as the Governor persisted in ordering the aisles of the church to be appropriated to the use of the troops, to memorialize His Majesty for redress, and voted the sum of £30 for the furtherance of this object, and a further amount of £20 to the vestry clerk for extra services required during the proceedings. These grants of money were disapproved by many of the parishioners, and in consequence the vestry did not act in the matter, but the officers for 1821 proceeded to accomplish the intention of their predecessors. This highly displeased Governor Lumley, who called a meeting of the vestry on the 11th of June, and made a communication, in his capacity as ordinary, through the rector, the Rev. John Lough; before this could be read, however, Sir William made his appearance at the door, accompanied by his private secretary, and a serjeant. After hearing his own letter read, the purport of which was to protest against the legality of the appropriation of the money voted by the vestry, he informed them that he then met them as the representative of his Sovereign, and after using various threats, he ordered the serjeant to call the guard and let none of them escape, at the same time posting himself in the doorway; they were at length permitted to leave the place, when they assembled at the Town-Hall and passed a series of resolutions reflecting severely on his conduct.

The last Churchwardens had delayed to return their accounts with the parish, in consequence as they alleged, of a report having been circulated that the rate was

illegal. This excuse would, of course, soon have been tested by the parish officers themselves, but the Governor not having the patience to wait for this, assembled the vestry, and ordered the attendance of Messrs. Basham and Till, (the refractory churchwardens,) who refused to attend. A file of soldiers was despatched to apprehend them, and they were brought before His Excellency, who made every effort to induce them to give up their books; but finding them firm in their determination, he committed them to the common jail under a military guard. They were shortly after liberated, but it was not long before Mr. Till again fell under the displeasure of the Governor. Having received notice of some disorderly night meetings in the town, Mr. Till proceeded to the place and dispersed them. This was strictly within the line of his duty as Mayor of St. George, but the owner of the house where these assemblies took place, on the following day laid a complaint before the magistrates, who dismissed it. This did not satisfy the complainant, and he repaired to the Governor's residence, and informed him of the circumstance. Sir William promptly issued a warrant to the constables of St. George ordering them to bring Mr. Till before him at his official residence. The officers proceeded to execute the order, but the Mayor made his escape to the Town-Hall and secured the door. As the magistrates refused to back the warrant he was eventually arrested by a number of soldiers and special constables, and sent to Hamilton, where he was committed to prison. On the following day he

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was discharged, as the Privy Council, before whom the Governor brought the matter, declined interfering, and the case was turned over to a bench of magistrates, who, upon a careful investigation of the affair, decided that there was no ground for a criminal prosecution.*

On the 3rd of May, the disputes between His Excellency and the Assembly had become so serious that, in a message, they, in firm but respectful language, declined any farther intercourse with him until His Majesty's decision was known on their petition for redress of grievances.

Governor Lumley embarked for England on board H. M. S. Forte on the 23rd of May, 1822, and the administration devolved on the Hon. William Smith. On the 16th of October, 1823, he returned and resumed his duties. The original cause of his disagreement with the people of St. George still existed, and the soldiers were crowded into the aisles of the parish church, to the no small inconvenience of themselves as well as the congregation.

Writs were issued in December for the election of representatives, and the Assembly was summoned to meet on the 19th of February, 1824, on which day they were addressed in a temperate speech. Notwithstanding this auspicious com-

* Actions were brought by Mr. Till and Mr. Basham, in the November Term of the Court of King's Bench, against the keepers of the Saint George's Goal for false imprisonment, and verdicts obtained of £500 for each with costs. This decision was afterwards reversed by the Court of Errors in April, 1822, at the head of which was, of course, the Governor.

mencement, they were soon at issue on the question of privilege, as the Governor pertinaciously continued to deprive them of rights which they had long enjoyed. Having thus at their first step met with difficulties and obstructions, they on the 13th of March resolved to transact no business until His Majesty's pleasure should be known. This decision they communicated to His Excellency on the same day. On the 18th. he prorogued them by a speech, which was far from courteous, and thus terminated his intercourse with the popular branch of the Legislature, as the Assembly was not again called together by him.

Governor Lumley terminated his unhappy administration by embarking on the 6th of June, 1825, on board H. M. S. Menai for Halifax, to the sincere satisfaction of the Bermudians. There appears every reason to believe Sir William Lumley's assertion, that he meant well towards the Colony, at the head of whose affairs it had pleased his Majesty to place him. To deny that his conduct was deserving of the strongest censure would be inconsistent with the facts we have stated, but at the same time it is but just to weigh well both sides, and impartially to examine the motives which influenced both parties. There is strong reason to believe that those persons who felt his power were not in every instance actuated by the purest motives in opposing him. Unhappily Sir William exercised no control over a temper naturally hasty, and rendered more arbitrary by his profession. Of an irascible temperament, he

permitted himself to be so governed by his passions that in a short period after his arrival he had rendered himself personally obnoxious to almost every influential member of the community. Even to those, who by their official connection, were compelled to be in attendance on him, the intolerance of his deportment was most galling. This despotism proceeded, not from any badness of heart, or want of honour and integrity, but from a warmth of temper, and an unfortunate perversity of understanding, which under excitement led him to think whatever he wished to be done was right and proper. That he mistook the nature of his powers is certain, and to this, and also to an erroneous appreciation of the people, may be attributed the unhappy altercations with the Assembly. No man was ever more violently assailed by the press than Governor Lumley, as a torrent of ridicule and reproach was weekly cast upon him, and it appears extraordinary that he did not deal as summarily with the editors of the two papers as he did with the churchwardens. There is every reason to believe that he was entirely misunderstood, and that his motives were misconstrued. He was succeeded by President William Smith, who was relieved by His Excellency Sir Hilgrove Turner on the 14th of February, 1826.

The colony had been recently annexed to the diocese of Nova Scotia,* and was thus placed under the

* The Bishopric of Nova Scotia was erected in March, 1825, with New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, and Bermuda annexed.

spiritual direction of Bishop Inglis. It was the wish of Governor Turner that the Legislature should adopt some measures for giving effect to this arrangement, and a Bill was introduced into the Assembly on the 18th of December "to invest the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and in his absence the Archdeacon of Bermuda, with the power of granting marriage licenses, probates of wills, &c.," but it was lost by a large majority.*

During the year 1828, the slave crews of two vessels belonging to the Bermudas, on their arrival in Ireland, were informed by the authorities that they were free, and that this communication might want nothing to give it effect it was made in a legal form, accompanied by expressions of sympathy and promises of protection, by a bench of magistrates composed of the gentry of the place. Notwithstanding, however, that this opportunity of acquiring freedom was offered in a distant country to sailors, a class of men proverbial for their fickleness and love of change, yet, out of the whole number, (eleven,) only three availed themselves of it, and those were mere boys.† This circumstance speaks strongly in favour of the mild treatment which slaves experienced in Bermuda.

During the year 1829, the small-pox raged with such severity as to cause great alarm ; H.M. Ships Columbine

* The fees arising from these sources had always been received by the Governor for the time being, as Ordinary, and formed a portion of his income, for the loss of which it would have been necessary to have provided compensation if this Act had passed.

† Records of the Assembly, 1828.

and Champion were dispatched to Halifax, and to the Bahamas by the Naval Officer commanding for a supply of vaccine lymph. This checked, and soon afterwards suppressed, the disease, not however until many deaths had occurred. A society was at this period formed by Archdeacon Spencer for the religious instruction of the negroes. Dr. Spencer's efforts in behalf of the coloured population of the islands had been unceasing since his arrival, and this excellent institution produced much good.

On the 7th of July Governor Turner left the colony, on leave of absence, and was succeeded by the Hon. Robert Kennedy as Acting Governor, who continued in office until the return of His Excellency on the 2nd of November. Sir Hilgrove again left the islands on the 30th of July, 1830, and was succeeded by Mr. Kennedy. On the 1st of November Governor Turner resumed the Government for the last time, which he administered until the arrival of Sir Stephen Remnant Chapman on the 16th of January, 1832.

The prevalence of that terrible scourge, the cholera, in the United States naturally caused the most serious apprehensions. Although the communication with infected places was constant, for the purpose of procuring supplies, yet the Bermudas entirely escaped it, as no case of the dreaded pestilence ever made its appearance.

No sooner had the intelligence officially reached the colony that the Bill for the Abolition of Slavery, on the 1st of August, 1834, had passed the Imperial Parliament than the Legislature was called together, and met on the 9th of January, of that year. A com-

mittee of the whole House, on consideration of the documents submitted to them, resolved :—

“That slavery be abolished in this Colony on the First day of August next, and that the apprenticeship system contemplated by the said Statute be dispensed with, so far as regards the Colony of Bermuda.” This was adopted and passed into a law, which was generally approved by the people, as six out of the nine parishes met and voted their approbation. This decision, although attended with many cases of individual loss and hardship, yet viewed as a general measure, was fortunate for the place, as all the vexations and evils of the apprenticeship system were at once avoided.

Every effort was made to induce the negroes to receive the inestimable boon of liberty with moderation. The Governor issued his proclamation on the 14th of July directing the approaching 1st of August to be religiously observed ; divine service was accordingly ordered in all the churches, and Archdeacon Spencer and the clergy strenuously exerted themselves, in public and private, to effect the desired end. At length the eventful day arrived, and slavery with all its attendant evils and miseries was at an end for ever in the British dominions. Every place for public worship, throughout the islands, was filled to excess, and the day passed as decorously as could have been desired.

Never was a more righteous act registered than that consummated in the British Colonies on the 1st of August, 1834. It may be that the system adopted was imperfect ; it may be that the measure was precipitate ; it is possible that a better plan might

have been devised : but with all its errors, never did British honour and justice shine with so much lustre, as when the shout of thousands of emancipated beings rent the air on the day of their liberation from bondage. That the slaves were treated kindly and leniently in the Bermudas is certain, as there were instances during the war with America and France, in which they returned to their owners when made prisoners of war.* Slavery was nevertheless as much an injury to the free-man as to the bondman, to the owner as to the slave. By means of the forced services of thousands, a few were enabled to roll in wealth, whilst the colonies enjoyed no real prosperity, and the system produced habits of cruelty and indolence, of vice and folly now hardly credible.†

On the 11th of February, 1835, an American Brig, called the *Enterprise*, having on board 78 slaves, put into the port of Hamilton for a supply of provisions and water. She was on a coasting voyage from

* The following instance is recorded by the late Mr. Bryan Edwards in his "History of the West Indies," and is taken from the Report of Governor Browne :—

"A Bermudian privateer, manned by eighty blacks, was, during the first American war, captured by an American privateer and carried into Boston. The slaves might have taken their liberty, but they preferred returning to their owners in Bermuda. Seventy-nine found their way back to the colony, the eightieth died."

† The amount of compensation paid to the proprietors of slaves in Bermuda was £128,340. 7s. 6d. On the subject of slavery an eminent Bermudian has made a few excellent remarks. "Happy had it been for these favoured isles—favoured in climate, and most attractive in beauty—if the desolating foot of slavery had never stalked over the land. As mercy is said to be twice blessed, so slavery is twice cursed—a curse to the master, and a curse to the slave."—*A Plan for the Instruction, &c. of the Emancipated People of Colour of the Bermudas*, by James Christie Esten, L.L.D., p. 10. London, 1837.

Virginia bound to the Carolinas. Having effected his purpose, the Captain applied for a clearance, but the officers of the Customs declined giving it until His Excellency's pleasure was known. On the same day, and shortly after this application, the members of a Friendly Society applied to the Chief Justice for a writ of habeas corpus, to bring the slaves before him to answer for themselves, if they wished to proceed in the vessel. The writ was served, and was at first treated slightly, but the Captain shortly afterwards went into Court, and requested that the slaves might not be landed until the following morning. This was of course refused, and at 9 o'clock p. m. the whole of the slaves were brought before the Chief Justice at the Sessions House, in the midst of such a scene of excitement as has seldom been witnessed in the town of Hamilton. They were liberated at their own request, with the exception of a woman, named Ridgly, and her five children who preferred proceeding on the voyage. The Enterprise shortly afterwards left the port. A small sum of money was collected by subscription for the immediate necessities of the liberated persons, and steps were taken to provide for their wants until they could be employed.

Governor Chapman embarked on board H.M.S. Scylla, for New York, on the 21st of April, on his way to England, in consequence of ill health. He was succeeded in the administration by the Hon. Henry G. Hunt, a member of the council.

In December of this year (1835) a most destructive fire raged in the city of New York, which destroyed

property to the amount of £4,000,000. Many Bermudians had invested their money in the stocks of the various fire insurance companies, and, as they could not pay the enormous loss, the colony, through its inhabitants, suffered severely.

The Hon. Robert Kennedy having been appointed by the Home Government to relieve Mr. Hunt, he entered upon his duties on the 17th of September.

On the 21st of January, 1836, Governor Chapman, returned to the islands and resumed the administration. On the 5th of May Vice-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, the naval commander-in-chief, sailed for England with his family, sincerely regretted by the Bermudians, upon whose minds his kindness had made a lasting impression. The importance of the islands to the Mother Country was duly appreciated by Sir George, and in every way consistent with his public duty he shewed his disposition to benefit the inhabitants. In all cases of application to the Home Government the first step usually taken is to lay the memorial before this gallant and distinguished officer, with every confidence that it will meet with attention, and if proper, with due support.

H.M.S. Vestal arrived from Quebec on the 24th of July, 1838, with eight persons as prisoners.* These individuals were some of the leaders of the late outbreak in Canada, whom Lord Durham had thought

* Viz., Wolfred Nelson, Bonaventure Viger, Henri Alphonse Gavin, Rodolphe Des Rivières, Robert Shore Milnes Bouchette, Simeon Marchessault, Toussaint Goddu, and Luc Hyacinthe Masson.

proper to banish to Bermuda by an exercise of his authority which could not but be termed extraordinary. On their arrival the Governor convened the Council for the purpose of deciding if they should be permitted to land. So obvious is the course which should have been pursued that it appears strange that the debate should have lasted ten minutes, but, singular to relate, they were at length received by the Governor as prisoners and limited to a certain portion of the main island for exercise, without the slightest provision being made for their maintenance. They were liberated by the disallowance of Lord Durham's famous ordinances, and they left the islands on the 31st of October, 1838.

Governor Chapman was relieved on the 12th of April, 1839, by His Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel William Reid, C.B., who landed on that day. At the recommendation of the new Governor a Bill was introduced into the Assembly on the 18th of June, for the establishment of a Public Library at Hamilton, which passed into a law, and this useful institution soon attained to a flourishing condition. On the 4th of August following the Right Reverend Aubrey George Spencer, D.D. was consecrated in England Lord Bishop of Newfoundland, to which See Bermuda was annexed. This was a pleasing arrangement to the Bermudians, who could not be otherwise than sincerely attached to Dr. Spencer. During the many years which he had spent in the colony as Rector, and latterly as Archdeacon, he had taken a warm interest in everything connected with the people, with whom he had in a great

measure identified himself, and to whom he had always shown great attachment. To his exertions many useful educational and religious institutions in the colony not only owe their success, but their existence, and at the eventful period of the abolition of slavery he did much, by example and influence, to prepare the coloured population for that great change. At the period at which we write Bishop Spencer has been deservedly called to a wider sphere of usefulness, but he can never be forgotten by the Bermudians.

During the night of the 11th of September, 1839, a hurricane of unusual violence burst over the islands attended with the most destructive consequences ; great damage was done to property throughout the colony, but fortunately no lives were lost, although many families were driven from their tottering houses to remain exposed during that dreadful night to the pelting of the pitiless storm. Subscriptions were immediately raised for the purpose of assisting those who were unable to repair the damage done to their dwellings, and, to the honour of those who were in better circumstances, none were left for any length of time without a shelter.

The oppressive tax on shipping, called the Powder Fund, was abolished by Resolutions of the Assembly on the 3rd of September, 1840 ; it was, however, considered expedient to continue this duty to the 1st of July, 1841, and a Bill to that effect passed the House, which was confirmed. There were various stipends charged on this fund which became permanent bur-

dens on the colony, as the Home Government would not permit them to be abolished.

The winter of 1840 was unusually severe ; during the night of the 24th of December, ice, varying in thickness from an eighth to a quarter of an inch, was formed, chiefly on the low swampy lands, and considerable damage was done to vegetation.*

The currency of the colony had hitherto been at the rate of twelve shillings sterling to the pound, but, as this produced confusion, an Act was passed, in the session of 1841, to assimilate the currency to that of the Mother Country, and all transactions were to be executed in sterling money after the 1st of January, 1842.

The people of Bermuda suffered about this time, through the unsoundness of American institutions. A heavy loss was sustained by the failure of the United States' Bank ; the amount was variously estimated at the time, but was probably about £30,000 sterling.

The 1st of March, 1842, is memorable as the day on which the first Royal Mail Steamer, (the Thames, Lieutenant Haste, R.N., Commander,) arrived from Nassau *en route* for England ; as she did not require much coal she did not come into port, and only remained off the islands three hours.

No regular communication had ever been established between Hamilton and St. George, and it had for some time been the general opinion that the Colonial Government should support a daily mail between the

* The latitude of the Bermudas is sufficiently high for ice and snow, but from its limited extent this is the first recorded instance of such an event.

two towns for public convenience. The plan was discussed by the Assembly during the session of this year (1842,) and finally passed. It was enacted that there should be an alternate daily post, and the rate for the letters should be one penny, payable when posted. The contract was taken by Messrs. William Facy and Thomas Southworth, and the first mail left Hamilton on the 1st of August. This arrangement has proved extremely beneficial by promoting intercourse between the towns at a moderate and certain charge for conveyance.*

The terrible earthquake of February, 1843, was felt, though slightly, in the Bermudas; fortunately the shock was too gentle to occasion mischief.

The Assembly passed an Act to establish a Savings' Bank, on the 10th of August, but it was limited in its nature, giving no return for amounts received, and was simply confined to the safe keeping of deposits which were not permitted to exceed the moderate sum of £50; the Colonial Treasurer was appointed manager, with a small per centage on the sums received as a remuneration, which was to be paid by the country. As this bank, from its peculiar constitution, tends to collect in the public chest a large portion of the current coin of the place, so far from doing any real good it is likely to prove an injury, as it must be prejudicial to the interest of the community to lock up its circulating medium. No interest whatever is allowed on deposits, consequently the Bank, in its pre-

* The fare to either town, and back, is now five shillings, and four shillings without returning. Previously to this establishment it was necessary to hire a carriage for the purpose, and the cost of the journey was seldom less than £1, and this for a distance of about ten miles.

sent character, offers no inducement to individuals to collect their savings for any advantage to be derived from funding them.

In the beginning of August a dreadful fever made its appearance in St. George and spread with great rapidity to the barracks and the prison ship there ; shortly after it broke out at Ireland Island, the naval depôt, and finally reached Hamilton. The mortality was very great among the troops and prisoners ; Governor Reid had nearly fallen a victim to his zeal in the discharge of his public duties, as he contracted the epidemic whilst on a visit of inspection to the hospitals and hulks ; for some days his life was despaired of, but fortunately for the colony he recovered. The prevailing opinion is that this disease was imported in one of the West India Steamers, but there is no proof that this was the case, and it appears doubtful. Whatever was its origin it carried death and mourning throughout the islands, and in many cases left the patients with broken and shattered constitutions.

Dr. Spencer having been appointed to the see of Jamaica, vacant by the death of Bishop Lipscombe,* the Right Rev. Edward Field was appointed, in March, 1844, Bishop of Newfoundland, and was consecrated in April following. The annual agricultural and cattle show was held in the Government grounds in Pembroke Parish, on the 30th of April, and exhibited a decided improvement since the preceding year. On

* Bishop Spencer did not again visit Bermuda but proceeded direct to Jamaica, where a piece of plate was presented to him by the Bermudians as a tribute of esteem and respect.

the 1st of November, 1844, a number of gentlemen assembled at Moore's celebrated calabash tree, in the Parish of Hamilton, for the purpose of forming a Yacht Club; the proposal originated with Samuel Triscott, Esq., by whom this meeting was addressed. About forty gentlemen enrolled their names as members, and on the 7th of December elected Lord Mark Kerr as Commodore, and Lieutenant Henry Hire, R.N., as Vice-Commodore.* On the application of the Club, through the Commodore, His Royal

* Since the above was written Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to permit the Club to style themselves "The Royal Bermuda Yacht Club." The following correspondence on the subject appeared in the Bermuda Royal Gazette of February 3rd, 1846.

"ROYAL BERMUDA YACHT CLUB."

We have great pleasure in laying before our readers the accompanying documents, which have been handed us by the Honorary Secretary for publication in the *Gazette*. We think we may with much confidence re-echo the sentiment expressed by the Commodore in his Letter, that this act of condescension on the part of Her Most Gracious Majesty will be duly appreciated by the inhabitants of these Islands. The Club will henceforth be styled "THE ROYAL BERMUDA YACHT CLUB"

Yacht sailing is so consonant to the habits and talents of the Bermudians, that we feel assured that the elevation of the Club—placing it on a footing with the highest in England—will be a double incentive to Gentlemen coming forward and joining it.

MONTAGUE HOUSE, WHITEHALL.

Dec. 19, 1845.

SIR,

I have great pleasure in forwarding to you the accompanying Copy of a Letter which I have just received from Mr. George Anson; which will show you that in answer to my application, His Royal Highness Prince Albert has obtained Her Majesty's most gracious permission for the Bermuda Yacht Club to style themselves "The Royal Bermuda Yacht Club."

I have begged Mr. Anson to assure his Royal Highness that this additional proof of his favour, and of Her Majesty's gracious con-

Highness Prince Albert consented to become their patron. The number of members is limited to seventy.

In concluding this brief sketch of the History of the Bermudas, we cannot but express our opinion that much of the future prosperity of the Islands will probably depend on Colonel Reid's being, for a longer time than usual, continued in the office he at present so worthily fills, or his successors adopting the same wise, active, and indefatigable spirit which has so highly distinguished his administration.*

descension, will not be thrown away upon the loyal inhabitants of Bermuda; to whom generally, as well as to the Club, I beg that you will make the gratifying circumstance known.

I have the Honour to be,

Your most obedient Servant,

MARK KERR, Commodore.

SAMUEL TRISCOTT, Esq., Hon. Secretary,
Royal Bermuda Yacht Club.

WINDSOR CASTLE, Dec. 18, 1845.

MY LORD,

I have laid your Letter before His Royal Highness Prince Albert, who commands me to say that Her Majesty will give Permission to the Bermuda Yacht Club, to style themselves the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club.

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient servant,

G. E. ANSON.

The Lord Mark Kerr.

* Since this was written, Colonel Reid has been appointed to the Government of Barbadoes; his successor at Bermuda is Captain Charles Elliott, R.N.

CHAPTER VII.

General description—Geology—Climate—Agriculture—Productions—
Commerce—Civil Constitution—Revenue and Expenditure—Church
Establishment—Education—Tradesmen—Steamers—Mails—Public
Institutions.

A SHORT account of the general appearance and geological structure of the Bermudas, and of some matters connected with the present state of their inhabitants, will probably be interesting to those who have followed us through this narrative of the early struggles and progress of this small but important Colony.

The Bermudas, Summer or Somers Islands, form a small insular group, situated in the Atlantic Ocean, but considerably nearer to the New than the Old World. Their northermost extremity is in long. 63. 28 West and lat. 32. 24 North. With the exception of St. Helena there is not perhaps a spot on the globe so remote from any land, the nearest point being Cape Hatteras, in North Carolina, distant 580 miles, and Atwoods Keys, one of the Bahamas distant 645 miles. Their number has been variously estimated at,

between 300, and 400, but the greater portion of this computation cannot be termed islands, as they are mere rocks. The principal of the group are five in number; St. George, St. David, Bermuda Proper, Somerset, and Ireland. The third is by far the largest, more than equalling all the rest put together, and is hence sometimes called the Continent. Separated only by narrow channels, the five now specified were regarded by the first discoverers as a single island and are still generally known by the designation, Bermuda. They extend from north-east to south-west in a curved line resembling a shepherd's crook. The extreme length of the group, following its sinuosities, is about twenty-five miles, while its breadth nowhere exceeds three, and in most places not one. In 1780 the population was estimated at 15,000 and this appears to have been the maximum of inhabitants at any one period. According to the last census there were 10,126. The Islands contain a superficies of 12,424 acres, most of which are overgrown with the cedar. The roads throughout the colony are wide, well-made, and kept in good repair, for which purpose yearly grants are made by the Legislature. Their estimated length, in 1844, was 62 miles, and to that period they had cost £41,768 sterling.

The land is low, and consists of a succession of mounds or hills, none of which exceed 250 feet in height. The appearance of the Bermudas is highly romantic; it may be said, with truth, that spring never forsakes them, and the fields and woods are clad with a mantle of perpetual green. The water

around the islands is singularly clear, and objects may be seen at a great depth.

The shores of the group are encompassed by a range of breakers, and sunken rocks, standing at a short distance from the coast on the south side, and reaching ten miles into the ocean on the north and west. The unexpected extent of these last reefs have proved the destruction of many a noble ship, whose crew, little dreaming of danger, to their astonishment have suddenly found themselves shipwrecked. In the parish of Southampton there is a fine iron lighthouse now being erected at the expense of the Home Government, which, although unfinished, is a prominent object, and has been seen from the decks of passing vessels at a distance of twenty-eight miles.

Ireland is about a mile in length, and varies in breadth, nowhere exceeding a quarter of a mile. It is occupied by the Home Government as a Naval Depôt, and is strongly fortified. Attached to the dockyard there is a breakwater, constructed like that at Plymouth, for the use of the navy. The head-quarters of the Convict Establishment is also at this island. The prisoners are men sentenced in England to transportation, and are sent out in drafts to be confined in the hulks, and employed on the Government works. Bermuda is not a penal settlement, the convicts having been sent to it solely to assist in the public works, and they are not allowed to be employed for private benefit, or to be discharged in the colony. In 1844 there were 1,168 prisoners in the islands, costing the Home Government £28,032.

There are two towns in the colony, Hamilton the capital, situated in the parish of Pembroke, about the middle of the Islands, and St. George at the east-end, by which all vessels must pass which proceed to Hamilton, or the Dockyard, by the eastern passages, which are the best, and, consequently, the most frequented. These channels are protected by strong fortifications, some of which are yet unfinished. There is a narrow and shallow passage between St. George and Cony Island, which, with an east wind, may be used by vessels of a light draught of water, when proceeding to Hamilton, or Ireland. At the outlet of this, where there is a ferry established by the colony, a Martello tower of one gun has been erected.

The harbours of both towns are capacious, and completely landlocked; that of St. George being easiest of access, and consequently most frequented by vessels of large burthen. Works are now in progress for removing a bar at the entrance, and from the improvement already made, no doubt is entertained of the complete success of the undertaking. The houses of both towns, like those throughout the country, are built of the soft stone of the place, which is a cheap material, abounds in the islands, and is easily wrought. The buildings are kept whitewashed, and seldom exceed two stories in height; there is little or no architectural design displayed about them; the only one of consequence, of a public character, being that erected at Hamilton by the Colonial Government for the Customs and other public offices, which, up to 1844, had cost the sum of £5,280 sterling. The attempt in this

instance was not altogether successful, as it has leaked considerably ever since its erection, owing to some defect in the roof, which is constructed of black slate. There are, however, some instances of good taste, which are deserving of mention ; the Methodist chapel, at St. George, and the Presbyterian church at Hamilton, give a hope of better things. As there is no architect in the place, the dwelling-houses are frequently badly designed and ill-built.

The spring tides rise in the Bermudas five feet, and the neap three and a half, but both are much influenced by the wind. In the basin called Harrington Sound, the tides are scarcely perceptible, the ebb and flow being only a few inches, except on the approach of a storm, when the difference is much greater, no doubt owing to the state of the atmosphere. The only outlet to this beautiful sheet of water is through a narrow passage at the Platt's village, where the road crosses it on a narrow wooden bridge of indifferent construction.*

The latitude of these islands is the supposed limit at which the coral insects work. In this particular portion they may be favoured by the warmer temperature of a portion of the water of the Gulf Stream. On what foundation their structures around the Bermudas stand, or what may be the foundation of the islands themselves, far below the surface of the sea, is matter for conjecture. Above water they are composed of a

* The bridges in the Bermudas are of the most primitive form. The one between Somerset and the main island is particularly worthy of notice.

great number of small hills, which appear to have been raised by finely broken corals and shell-sand, cast on shore by the waves, and formed into hills by the winds. The surfaces of these sand-hills undergo frequent changes; the sand composing them may be seen, during gales, to be driven by the wind. In high latitudes, as in Holland, annual frosts prevent the surface from concretion, but in the Bermudas the saline particles from the sea incrust on the surface of one layer of sand before a new one is deposited by a second storm, and this seems to be the cause why nearly all the rock lies in thin laminae. In proof that they are formed by the action of the wind, these layers are never found lying at a steeper slope than the sand will roll to; by examining the sand-hills now existing on the south side of Paget's parish, an incrustation of the surface of the sand may be seen going on; and by tracing the drifting of the sand by the wind, it will also be seen how it is covering over, and deeply burying the vegetable mould, and the trees and herbs growing upon it; although the trees may endure for many years after they thus become embedded in the sand, they decay at last, and serve as moulds, which nature, in process of time, fills up. This, perhaps, explains the cause why there are to be seen so many cylindrical sections filled up with carbonate of lime, mixed with earthy matter, where hills have been cut through in making roads; it will also explain why layers of dark coloured vegetable mould are often found below white rock.

By attentive observation, the transition of the coral

and shell-sand cast on shore by the waves, and the winds, may be traced through various stages even till it becomes crystalline limestone. Rainwater is said to dissolve 1-500th part of its weight of lime. The rain which falls on the surface of the hills, dissolving this small portion of lime from the shell sand, carries down a material which crystalizes by the evaporation of the water which has held it in solution. After a considerable length of time, this process cements together the loose particles of sand, being the first stage in the formation of the softer rock. At the caves near the level of the sea, the rain water holding lime in solution will be found percolating through the harder rocks, leaving crystals of lime in almost every cavity, and this is the last stage by which the rocks become hard lime stone of nearly crystalline texture. On some of the rocks exposed to view on the surface, as at Walsingham, which are found to be compact limestone, when broken, the stratified or laminated form still remains visible on the outside. Nine miles to the north of the islands stand four needle rocks evidently the last remaining vestige of a former island; they stand about ten feet above high-water, and vary from four to about eight feet in diameter. It is worthy of remark that these also are limestone; and are stratified like the mainland—when struck by the hand they ring, being sonorous in a remarkable degree. The north shore of the islands, throughout its whole length, is bold, and bears the marks of gradual decay, whilst on the south side this appearance is partial, for in some places new sand-

hills are forming, which seem drifted out of the sea by ground-swells. As in other limestone countries, there are many caves in the Bermuda rocks; some of these caves must have been formed at very remote epochs, since their roofs are now supported by thick columns of crystalline lime, formed by the dripping rain-water holding lime in solution—there appear to be similar caverns under the sea, as well as above its level. In excavating a ship-channel into Hamilton harbour at Timlins Narrows in 1843, the miner's borer suddenly broke into a cavern; fish were seen descending into this submarine cave, and coming up again, and on gunpowder being ignited in it, the depth of water was increased from fifteen to twenty-two feet. During the progress of this work, crystals of lime-rock were found under water, similar to what is found above the water level. There is other striking evidence elsewhere of the depression of parts of the land; for example, a rock called Saltus's Islands, near Hamilton, on which trading vessels have been built, is evidently broken from the cliff close to it, and has settled downwards, leaving a fracture only, about eight feet wide. Near to the ferry, between St. George and Cony Island, many narrower fractures may be observed filled up by formations of more recent origin than the fractured rocks themselves. About Walsingham a great portion of the ground is hollow, and there is much in that locality to induce a belief that it is the most ancient part of the Bermuda group. If the shores around Harrington Sound be examined, stratified rocks like those of the hills will be observed, broken and tumbled down into the water, and the

general appearance of the Sound is as if it had been formed by an extensive subsidence of the land.* The crusts which intervene between the laminæ are frequently an inch in thickness, formed into hard limestone; where these hard veins occur, they not only stop the roots of trees from penetrating deeply, but they prevent both them, and smaller plants, from receiving moisture by evaporation from below during dry seasons. When the roots of the cedars meet these crusts near the surface of the land, their tops wither, becoming what is in England called stag-headed, from resembling stag horns, and they cease to grow.

Throughout the islands there is very little clay and scarcely any silicious matter in the soil, but there are reddish and darker coloured soils which in some places are found to fill up hollows to a great depth. These soils are supposed to be vegetable compositions which have accumulated during unknown periods. Closely matted cedar roots, which by decay become vegetable mould, may be seen in some localities where sections have been formed in cutting roads, and in this manner the hills of shell and sand become covered with soil. Those portions of the islands, where the reddish soil and darker mould are found, contain generally the hardest limestone rocks; such, for example, as the formation about Walsingham, in which locality are also shrubs and plants not to be found growing on

* Since the above was written, red clay resembling the red soil of the islands has been found below the water level, in blasting the St. George's Channel, which strengthens the idea of a subsidence of portions of the Bermudas. A small quantity of this clay is in the Island Museum at Hamilton.

hills of softer rock. This neighbourhood, as we have already observed, bears many indications of being the oldest part of the Bermudas, and whilst examining its caverns already in part below the sea, and containing deep pools of salt-water, the mind is led to contemplate the possibility of that land also subsiding below the ocean level. In the meantime, although left neglected by man, Nature has shaped it into the most picturesque forms, though on a very small scale. In the crevices betwixt the rocks, the orange, the lemon, the citron, and the coffee trees, mingled with cedars, grow wild. The whole of the Bermuda stone may be burned into lime—that made from the soft rock being the cheapest. This soft rock makes excellent mortar, provided four proportions of sand to one of lime be used with abundance of water, as in what is called grout. Some of the harder descriptions contain other earths in combination, which improve the quality of the lime.

In St. David's Island, near the level of the sea, on the property of Mr. Brown, a very valuable water lime has been found, which is either lias or equal in quality to lias limestone. The soft rock, being easily cut with the saw, is that used in house building, and in all works where great strength and durability are not necessary; the roofs are covered with the same material sawn into thin slabs. As this stone, of itself, is porous, and would admit the rain, it is saturated with lime whitewash, which, by filling the pores, makes the roofs water-proof. The lias lime, recently discovered in St. David's Island, will probably come to be used

both for coating the external walls of houses built of soft stone, and for setting the porous stone slabs of the roofs. Some of the best building stone known at present lies in large slabs between high and low water on the south side of the main island in Paget's Parish, and is hard enough to be hewn into steps for stairs. There is in various places throughout the group other very hard limestone fit for work requiring the mason's chisel. The inhabitants use the sand of the place for making mortar, but for the fortifications silicious sand is imported.* The fences are nearly all dry stone walls built of the soft rock which harbours rats and other vermin, but by pointing these stone walls with mortar made with five or six proportions of calcareous sand to one of soft rock lime the vermin are effectually excluded. From the want of water, grouting in building walls is almost unknown in the Bermudas, yet, from the porous nature of the soft materials, it is particularly suited to the place.

The natural source from which fresh water is obtained in the islands is supposed to be thus explained.† In consequence of the whole of the land, including the soil and the rock, being porous, rain water which falls on the surface of the islands passes down by filtration until it reaches the level of the sea ;

* The law of Nature which regulates the cohesion of particles of matter is as yet, very imperfectly understood. It is found by trial that silicious sand when mixed with fluid, or semifluid lime, coheres, and proves a stronger mortar than calcareous sand with burnt lime.

† The chief supply of this necessary article is preserved in tanks filled by gutters from the roofs of the houses, and the well water is little used by the inhabitants.

being specifically lighter than salt water it remains uppermost whenever there are no fissures in the rock to admit currents of sea water to disturb or carry it off. Thus when wells are sunk in the rock, opposite to the broadest part of the main island, perfectly good fresh water is found at the bottom of them, provided they are not sunk too low. So porous is the stone, that when wells are near the shore the rising tide enters the rock by filtration, and elevates this bed of lighter fresh water without disturbing or mingling with it; thus the wells which afford a good supply during high water yield much less at low tide. This explanation applies generally to the main island wherever there are no underground cavities or fissures communicating with the sea; it may also apply to the islands of Somerset, St. David, and St. George, but not to the smaller islands. A bed of three feet of fresh water forms in the winter season in the bottoms of the wells on the north shore of the main island, and opposite to its broadest part. To double the area of the bottoms of these wells should double the supply of fresh water, and to excavate an underground reservoir exactly at the fresh water level may be expected to give a supply proportionate to the extent excavated, but it would be necessary not to sink below the fresh water level, for in that case sea water would be found.

The material of which the understratum of the islands is composed, or such of it as lies above water, would seem little capable of resisting the action of an ocean wave, but the breakers which encompass the group have great effect in breaking the force of the

sea. Where there are bays, the sand has formed itself to that slope which offers the least resistance to the wave, and even the rocky shores, where they are not precipitous, partake of the same angle of declivity, and if steep they are guarded by heavy rocks, which in the course of ages have fallen among the debris of the opposing shore so that the force of the wave is greatly broken before it reaches the coast. On the precipitous shores, the land has, at intervals been caved out above sea level, and portions of it occasionally fall in, but not to any great extent.

The climate of the Bermudas is mild, but is said to be damper than that of other places in the same parallel of latitude with different longitude, which may be owing to the prevalence of southerly winds.* Although this is the case, the changes are frequent and remarkable for their regularity, and the hygro-metric changes follow as regularly as the alterations in the wind. Thus, when a southerly wind veering by the west becomes northerly, the atmosphere becomes remarkably dry. The official returns of deaths among the prisoners, confined as they are to the unwholesome

* Bishop Berkeley observes :—"The Summer Islands are situated near the latitude of thirty-three degrees ; no part of the world enjoys a purer air, or a more temperate climate, the great ocean which environs them at once moderating the heat of the south winds, and the severity of the north west. Such a latitude on the Continent might be thought too hot ; but the air in Bermuda is perpetually fanned and kept cool by sea-breezes (as is affirmed by persons who have long lived there) of one equal tenor, almost throughout the whole year, like the latter end of a fine May, insomuch that it is resorted to as the Montpelier of America." —*Berkeley's Works* : London, 1837, p. 390. It must be confessed that this is a little exaggerated. The south winds in Bermuda are moist and very oppressive.

atmosphere of the hulks, and the troops prove the place to be remarkably healthy.

Agriculture in the Bermudas may be said to be in its infancy. The plough, the harrow, and other most common implements of husbandry, were until the arrival of Governor Reid in 1839, scarcely known, and although he has done much, he has only partially succeeded in removing the inveterate prejudices of the people against an occupation which they have neglected for such a period of years for more profitable pursuits. The cultivation of tobacco and Indian corn formed the principal business of the colonists so long as good prices were obtainable, and previous to any extensive settlement in Virginia ; but the neglect of the soil, which was exhausted by repeated crops of the articles named, and more than all the reduction in price in consequence of the introduction into the European markets of the tobacco grown in Virginia,* and, in the Bermuda market, of grain also grown there, soon compelled the people to seek other employments. The Virginians, from the quantity and comparative cheapness of land, were enabled not only to export large quantities of the commodities which formed the staple of the islands, but, from the introduction of slave labour on a large scale, they succeeded in underselling. There can be no doubt but that slavery, that curse of the colonies and source of evils without number, has ever been most pernicious to the cultivation of the soil in the Bermudas.† The

* There were no tobacco curing houses standing in the Bermuda as early as 1707.

† It is remarkable that some of the earliest laws on record speak of slavery as an inconvenience.

most able of the male slaves were trained to the mechanical arts and to navigation, leaving only the most worthless of both sexes to be employed in the very inconsiderable tillage carried on. These employments, placed in the hands of slaves, became disreputable, and the white inhabitants preferred starvation to engaging in agricultural pursuits. This was particularly exemplified during the American war of independence, as the horrors of famine frequently stared the people in the face, and the Legislature was compelled to resort to the most oppressive measure of detaining articles of provisions, prohibiting their export, and pricing them, in order that the inhabitants might not actually starve. The islands were at that period cut off from their commerce with the revolted provinces, as all intercourse was interdicted by royal proclamation, yet they made no efforts to produce the required supplies of corn and wheat, and the authorities seem entirely to have overlooked the fact that the country was fully competent to produce the commodities wanted. Although all labourious occupations suffered by thus falling into the hands of slaves, none became so disgraceful as that of agriculture, since field labourers were, as we have stated, among the meanest and most worthless of the negroes, being, in fact, chiefly old women. It was no unusual thing to see a robust young white man (who, with the aid of a team and the plough, might, with great ease, have turned up a field in a few hours) idly overlooking an old negro woman employed in digging potatoes; a stranger might have wondered that the young man

did not labour himself at the work, since he would have had an agreeable occupation and it would have been sooner done ; but no, he would have been ashamed of being seen engaged in such an employment, and that occupation which was the pride of the Roman patricians, consuls, and dictators would have been disgraceful to a Bermudian fisherman, as it would have placed him on a level with a slave, a negro, a negro woman. Agriculture thus fallen into contempt has never recovered itself, although the Colonial Government at length saw the error of neglecting it and attempted to retrieve it by offering bounties on such crops as corn and barley. This induced a number of persons to enter upon the tillage of the soil, but the effect died with the cause, and the withdrawal of the premiums put an end to the improvement. In 1789 a series of questions were handed to the Legislature in order that their replies might be forwarded to the Secretary of State. The number of acres were then estimated to be between eleven and twelve thousand, three-fourths of which were stated to be capable of cultivation, yet the Assembly admitted that the only "European implement of husbandry" was the hoe ; ploughs, they said, had been in a few instances attempted without success, and the land was described as almost unfit for their use. This latter conclusion has of late been proved to be erroneous, as Governor Reid found no difficulty in ploughing the very summit of the hills in the vicinity of his official residence.

The want of a staple commodity has always been complained of, and some attempts have been made at

various periods to encourage the production of some article which would answer the purpose, but the inducements were held out at a time when most of the people were profitably employed in mercantile pursuits. The institution of slavery has probably also been the principal cause why, until recently, British colonists within the tropics and in corresponding latitudes to the Bermudas had done but little to advance agriculture as a science. In the Bermudas there is a perpetual seed-time and harvest; in winter the seeds of Europe are sown, and in summer those of the Tropics; to determine the exact time when each should be sown remains yet to be done.

Calcareous sand, which is of great value in countries where lime is required in agriculture, is throughout the colony in excess. Admixture of the dark soils which contain the least calcareous matter with the light coloured which contain the most is found to be beneficial. The earth which is most required is clay, in order to render the soil, which is in general too porous, more retentive of moisture.

Terracing the hills is comparatively easy, in consequence of the soft quality of the rock, and it is the more required on account of the sandy nature of the highlands. Where it is not resorted to, horizontal furrows, kept clear by means of the plough, require to be made on the sides of all cultivated Bermuda hills. In Southampton Parish, the remains of old terraces may be seen. These marks prove the want of skill of the older settlers in this kind of work, for instead of being carried in curved level lines around the hills,

they are short and straight flats formed across ravines. When swept in exact levels around the hill sides, the faces of the terraces are easily retained by planting Guinea grass. In all countries where the hoe continues to be used for digging the ground, agriculture makes but little progress ; thus this implement is still used in Spain and Portugal, and as the Spaniards were the first settlers in the West Indies, they must have been the first to introduce the large hoe there in digging, as the hoe of the West Indies is still of the Spanish pattern. The system of employing ignorant slaves as cultivators of the soil, gave permanency to the use of this simple but inefficient implement over the plough and the spade. Everywhere else the application of brute labour in tilling the ground with the plough was among the first attempts of man in his progress towards civilization. In the improved state of agriculture, the hoe is an implement for cleaning and not for digging the land. In hot climates there is still greater reason for employing the horse and the ox for labour, than in cold latitudes. Whatever degree of agricultural knowledge the early settlers in the Bermudas possessed, was gradually lost when their descendants betook themselves exclusively to maritime pursuits, and the land became again covered with cedar forests with the addition of weeds which had followed the migrations of man. Agriculture as well as seamanship requires that those who follow it shall make it the principal business of their lives. The mariner who is only at intervals at home, must ask instructions from the gardener if he hopes to raise

farm productions, and he makes an indifferent farmer, just as a farmer would make a poor seaman.

It is probable that most of the native plants of the Bermudas were brought here by the ocean currents, thus the cedar, which is a juniper similar to that of Virginia may have been propagated from seeds brought by the gulf stream from the continent of America. Perhaps all the indigenous trees, shrubs, and grasses of the place are to be found either on the continent of America or in the West Indies, as it is known that seeds are carried from one country to another, through the agency of birds, which swallow them, and that light seeds, carried high into the air by whirlwinds, are conveyed to very great distances. In the spring of 1841, two exotic forest trees sprang up from a heap of seaweed which had been collected during the previous autumn for manure; one of them was the Soapberry of the West Indies. Both the cedar and the palmetto trees must have grown in the islands from very ancient times, for they are found of a large size embedded in the morasses. The Bermuda cedar (*Juniperus Bermudiensis*) is a very valuable gift of nature to the Islands; it agrees so well with the calcareous sand-soil that seedling trees are everywhere found to spring up where the ground is left uncultivated; but, as usual, where nature is bountiful man is negligent. No attempt has ever been made to cultivate this useful tree so as to grow the greatest quantity at the least expense. The wood of the cedar is hard and very durable, and the tree is admirably calculated to give shelter from gales to other crops.

By digging and planting vegetables amongst young plantations, as is often done in Europe, the trees would be much benefited. Looking from the highest ground in the centre of the Islands, the Bermudas look like a continued forest of unmixed cedars. This tree does not attain a very great size without rotting at the heart. Singularly enough, this was found to be the case by Sir George Somers when building his pinnace after the wreck of the *Sea-Adventure*; what effect cultivation may have on it in this respect, remains yet to be proved. There was also a forest-tree found on the Islands by the discoverer, which the colonists called the yellow-wood, from its colour; it does not, however, appear to have been very abundant, and it is now extinct.

The Palmetto is the only indigenous palm-tree; of late years their number has diminished, although they are easily raised from the seeds if protected from cattle; they afford good shelter from the winds which is of importance in all small islands. Hats and bonnets of the palmetto are nowhere better made than in the Bermudas, and most of the plait for these is now sent to Europe as presents.

There are in the Islands a considerable number of native grasses; the greater part appear to belong to the genus *paspalum* the destructive mask of which is bearing its seeds on one side of a toothed-rachis; but the class is a very numerous one and the particular species growing in the Bermudas have not yet been identified. The most valuable is what is familiarly termed Pond-grass, from its luxuriant growth in

low and moist grounds. It is this grass which is supposed to be known by the name of Bermuda-grass, and is highly prized in the United States ; so great is its tendency to root from the joints, that it may be propagated by thinly spreading the mowed grass before top-dressing the land, for whenever the joints are slightly covered they throw down the roots and grow ; this renders it a weed in ground intended for other productions throughout the year, yet it is peculiarly well-adapted for the climate of the Bermudas, as it requires heat to make it shoot, and it only begins to grow vigorously at the beginning of June, continuing to do so until the end of November. During the intervening six months it remains inert, and, therefore, as a weed, is innoxious ; these are the six months during which wheat and other grain, the production of northern latitudes, grow and come to maturity in the Islands. The moist land therefore, after producing a grain crop in winter, as from arable land, will, in summer, give an abundant crop of natural grass, if ploughed again at the beginning of summer. The next in value is what is familiarly called crab grass, and either belongs to or resembles the genus *paspalum*, bearing its seeds on one side of a succulent flat spike ; its stems run along the ground to a great length, rooting at the joints. This grass grows throughout the year, and, like the pond grass, is perennial ; its growth is slow, but it appears to suit all soils in the islands, agreeing with the climate so well, that in over-pastured land it overpowers other grasses.

The foxtail-grass is of the genus *setaria*, figured by

Loudon in his *Encyclopedia of Plants*. It suits the light calcareous soil, and may be seen growing from the margin of the sea to the top of the hills. The Guinea-grass, first carried from Africa to Jamaica as bird-seed, grows well in the Bermudas during the hot months of summer. In the autumnal months it would yield heavy crops in the light calcareous soil of the hill-sides if it were to be cultivated in drills, kept clean with the plough, and manured. Its seeds mature and germinate wherever the ground is loose, and is kept clear from other grasses. It requires care to prevent its being choked by the indigenous running grasses. The *Melia Azaderack*, called the "Pride of India," is now a common ornamental tree, and its wood, though soft, may be used as furniture.

The sweet-orange was introduced into the Bermudas from the West Indies at a very early period in the settlement, and the fruit soon became an article of considerable export to England, but it declined in common with agriculture, and the quantity annually raised is now barely sufficient to supply the demand on the spot; new varieties have been introduced by Governor Reid, and the cultivation is on the increase.*

* Bishop Berkeley has the following notice respecting the Orange. About forty years ago, upon cutting down many tall cedars, that sheltered their orange-trees from the north wind, (which sometimes blows even there so as to affect that delicate plant,) great part of their orange plantations suffered; but other cedars are since grown up, and no doubt a little industry would again produce a great quantity of oranges as ever was there heretofore. I mention this, because some have inferred from the present scarcity of that fruit, for which Bermuda was once so famous, that there has been a change in the soil and climate for the worse. But this, as hath been observed, proceeded from another cause, which is now in great measure taken away.—*Berkeley's Works*; London, 1837. p. 390.

The fig and pomegranate were also brought from the West Indies soon after the landing of the first colonists, and great care and attention was paid to the former until they abounded in the islands. This delicious fruit is also on the increase after having been neglected for more than a century.

The grape-fruit, shaddock, citron, lemon, lime and almost all the tropical fruits are of easy growth, and produce well. The pine-apple was an article of export during the early period of the settlement, and the first plants cultivated in the Island of Eleuthera, from which immense quantities are now yearly exported, are said to have been carried from the Bermudas. As this island was settled by Bermudians under Governor Sayle about 1661-3, this is very likely to have been the case. The peach is the most common, and at present the most useful fruit-tree, but it is of modern origin, having been introduced within the present century.

Arrowroot, now the most valuable article of export, has materially increased in the last few years. It requires dark and rich soils, and flourishes best among the limestone formations. It bears a high character, not only in Europe, but in every place where it is known, and invariably commands the preference over that of any other country. The production of this article may still however be greatly extended, as the number of acres which are employed in raising it are comparatively few. Onions of the Madeira and Portugal kind, are extensively cultivated, and considerable quantities are annually exported to the West Indies,

and a few to North and South America. The average produce of an acre may be estimated at 20,000lbs. although instances are frequent of a much greater return. Light calcareous soils are the best for raising this useful vegetable, and the ground requires a good top-dressing. The peculiar situation of the Bermudas enables the inhabitants to ship their onions much earlier than the United States or Madeira, and consequently they obtain the highest rates. The usual period for exportation is from the 10th of May to the 20th of June, and of course the onions do not sell for such good prices when shipped later.

Potatoes raised from seed brought from Nova Scotia and the United States, are of an excellent quality and flavour. The principal crop is ripe in May, and they are then packed in barrels and shipped with onions to the West Indies, where they are much esteemed. The sweet potatoe (*convolvulus batata*) is also raised in great abundance, but always for the consumption of the colony, as they are now never exported.

Maize or Indian corn was probably brought first from Virginia, immediately after the first settlement, and as it was the only article on which the colonists depended for bread, great attention was always paid to the crops. In 1694, the Legislature prohibited the exportation of it when the price exceeded 2s. 8d. per bushel.* The supplies for the islands, which are considerable, are now always imported from the United States. Wheat, barley, and oats were cultivated to a considerable extent during the last century, but they

* About 1s. 7d. sterling.

are now seldom grown. They were chiefly raised on light calcareous soil in the upper parishes. The coffee and indigo plants, though easily cultivated, are entirely neglected; great quantities of both are to be found about Walsingham, in Hamilton parish.

The vine thrives well, and yields fruit heavy and of good flavour. Some attempts were once made to encourage its growth on a large scale, but they failed probably from the want of an ample supply of fresh water. Cotton of good quality yields abundantly without much attention. It was once cultivated to a considerable extent in consequence of encouragement from home, but the business was found to be unprofitable and was soon abandoned. The steady decline of maritime pursuits has forced the inhabitants to turn their attention to agriculture, and Governor Reid by judiciously managing the small sums granted by the Legislature for prizes, has succeeded in giving an impetus to agricultural pursuits, which in a few years will no doubt be productive of much real benefit to the colony. The progress made in farming, of late, may be judged from the fact that in 1839 there were but two ploughs in the islands, whereas in 1843 there were fifty-four.*

The position of the Bermudas has at various periods given peculiar advantages as a commercial colony, and

* It is astonishing with what apathy the Legislature of the Islands have hitherto regarded the important subject of agriculture. Although their commerce has been several years declining they have made no attempt to advance the internal welfare of the Colony in order to find employment for the people. With the exception of a few unimportant grants the Legislature has literally done nothing.

as the people appear to have been always enterprising, it is not uninteresting to trace the progress and decline of its trade. The object of the Bermuda Company in first planting a colony on the islands, was that the profits arising from the soil might return them a fair equivalent for their outlay, and consequently during the earlier years of the settlement, the pursuits of the people were almost entirely agricultural. The peculiar nature of the government, vested as it was in a corporate body, enabled the proprietors to prohibit ship-building, and to compel the colonists, (who were, in most cases, abject slaves,) to purchase goods solely from their ships, which were sent out periodically for the purpose. Tobacco, and such other commodities as were exported, they were also compelled to send by the same vessel. The cedar was valued highly by the Lords Proprietors, from their first occupancy of the islands, and they watched over it with great solicitude, and reprimanded the authorities severely when it was cut without their express sanction. They would not permit it to be used for any purpose but in building such boats as they allowed, and being sawn into boards for making chests for tobacco; thus a fictitious value was attached to it which is not without its influence at the present day. At first the colonists bore these restrictions patiently, but as agriculture declined it became necessary to look abroad for some means of employment.*

* Bishop Berkeley observes: "These (i.e. Bermudas) having no rich commodity or manufacture, such as sugar, tobacco, or the like, wherewithal to trade to England, are obliged to become carriers for America

The first carrying trade in which the Bermudians engaged was in salt, which they gathered at the Turks-Islands and the Tortugas. This article they took to the provinces, where they exchanged it for such provisions as they required. This trade, dependant as it was on the American colonies, was greatly interrupted when the war of independence broke out, and so far as the Home Government could effect its purpose, was prevented. Stealthy voyages were still however made, as the people had but the choice of evils, to starve or supply the revolted provinces. A profitable branch of trade consisted in fitting out small vessels for the purpose of wrecking on the Bahama Banks, but that government put a stop to this as soon as they were in a position to do so, in 1793-5, by seizing such Bermudian cruisers as attempted to exercise any privilege of the kind within their jurisdiction.

In 1770 and 1789, the Bermudians employed a considerable amount of tonnage in carrying mahogany and logwood from the Bay of Honduras to England; but this trade does not appear to have been long persevered in. A brisk trade was carried on with the

as the Dutch are for Europe. The Bermudians are excellent shipwrights and sailors, and have a great number of very good sloops, which are always passing and repassing from all parts of America. They drive a constant trade to the Islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, &c. with plenty and perfection. They have also some small manufacturers of joiners' work and matting, which they export to the plantations on the continent. Hence Bermudian sloops are oftener seen in the ports of America than in any other. And indeed, by the best information I could get, it appears they are the only people of all the British plantations who hold a general correspondence with the rest.—*Berkeley's Works*; London, 1837, p. 389.

homeward-bound Indiamen at the Island of Ascension, to which the Bermudians resorted to take turtle ; this business, which was altogether one of barter, was in full progress at Captain Cook's visit to that islands in 1775.

In 1784 an enterprising mercantile house * fitted out several vessels to proceed on whaling voyages. This trade, for which the Bermudas are admirably situated, was prosecuted successfully until broken up by the war between Great Britain and France. The whale is an annual visitor to the islands, and several unimportant establishments commence the fishery in the month of March, and continue so employed until May. The quantity taken is, however, insignificant, and barely sufficient to supply the colony : the trade might be considerably extended by the employment of additional capital and competent persons.† As the commerce of the Bermudas sustained great injury from the French privateers, which were fitted out in the American ports from 1793 to 1799, the people turned their attention to a desultory war with the enemy, in which they were singularly unsuccessful, as there were few instances of great profit. From 1799 to 1809, the trade with the United States revived, and a branch of business, in which the Bermudians had been for some time engaged, materially increased—that of trading

* Jennings, Tuckers, and Co.

† The sea worm called "*Beche la Mer*" so valuable as an article of food among the Chinese, is found in Bermuda in abundance, but has never been collected.

with British North America and Newfoundland ; these provinces required supplies of West India productions, and their payments to be made in the produce of their fisheries, and as they had little commerce of their own, their necessities gave ample and profitable employment to the Bermuda shipping, particularly as this was a trade in which their opponents, the Americans, could not engage.

From 1809 to 1812, however, the business of the islands fluctuated and generally declined in consequence of losses sustained by captures. In 1815, the vessels of the United States were excluded from the British West Indies, and Bermuda was allowed to receive certain articles, the growth of the United States, in foreign bottoms, which were in turn permitted to take back West India produce ; this opened a most lucrative trade, and the commerce and shipping of the islands rapidly increased. This important advantage Bermuda was not long permitted to enjoy, and unhappily the people were not sufficiently aware of its importance, as it was left mostly in the hands of transient persons and British vessels owned abroad. In 1822 the West India ports were again opened and from that period the trade of the Bermudas gradually declined. The provincials were now beginning to export their produce to the southern colonies in vessels of their own, and to receive in return West India supplies ; and, as they were in an abundant country, they were soon in a position to underwork the Bermudians. The advantages of the warehousing system (though undoubtedly a very erroneous one) which gave

to British shipping the privilege of carrying foreign pork, beef, and flour free to the West Indies, after having been landed in the North American Provinces, for a time assisted in propping the tottering commerce of the Bermudas, but in 1843 this was abolished and their trade continues to decrease. In the British Empire the average number of seamen employed is 1 to $17\frac{1}{2}$ tons; in America, 1 to 25 tons; and in Bermuda, 1 to 14 tons; this expensive method of sailing their shipping is no doubt one of the chief causes of its being unprofitable, as it must be remembered that not only are the wages increased in proportion to the extraordinary number of men, but the quantity of stores consumed is also increased in a corresponding degree.

The civil constitution of the Bermudas consists of a Governor, Council, and Assembly, and is modelled, as nearly as circumstances will permit, after that of the United Kingdom. The same individuals who compose the legislative council form the executive and privy council also. It was formerly the custom for the Governor to continue in deliberation with the council in their legislative capacity, but during the government of Sir George Beckwith this practice was changed for the present system, and the Governor now withdraws after opening the Session. This body, though they maintain their right to originate bills, unfortunately seldom exert it practically. Projects involving expense do not necessarily originate with the executive, but oftener in the House of Assembly, and are there voted without the public having the benefit of such

schemes being first duly considered by the executive. There are many objections to this system.

Until the administration of Sir Stephen Chapman, the senior member of the Council administered the government in case of the death or absence of the Governor. It was then changed, and the duty now devolves upon the senior officer commanding the troops. This was a very proper alteration, as there are many serious objections to placing the administration of a small community, like the Bermudas, in the hands of a native of the place. The mode of election for members to serve in the Assembly, is by parishes, of which there are nine. Each returns four, and the representative must be a person qualified by the possession of freehold property in the parish that returns him, to the amount of £240 sterling, and the qualification of an elector is a freehold of £60 sterling; this last amount was formerly £30, but it was doubled in 1834, on the passing of the Emancipation Act. The Assembly thus consisted of thirty-six members, which is undoubtedly a most immoderate number, as the business of the islands could be better done with half. The members of the Assembly and Council are each paid eight shillings sterling per day, when on duty; this sum is voted annually, and contemptible as it appears, it entails a heavy expense on the colony.

The revenue raised in the islands is in proportion to £1. 8s. sterling per annum to each inhabitant, and as the mass of the population is poor, this is quite as much as should be levied. The expenditure is now

kept within the income, and a small debt which had commenced has been paid off. The imperial duties are collected by officers appointed from home, and forming, for so small a place, an extensive customs establishment. The amount collected by this department is quarterly paid over to the Treasurer of the Colony, who has also the collection of the local revenue, and who is paid by a five-per-cent. charge on all amounts received by him. The collection of duties by the Customs costs about thirty per cent., and the amount received is again taxed five per cent. by the Treasurer, thus making the collection of the principal part of the revenue cost the enormous sum of thirty-five per cent. No doubt can be entertained but that one establishment would be amply sufficient for the whole, and if the Customs were selected to transact the business, it might be effected at a much lower rate.

The Episcopal Church was established in the colony by the earliest settlers, and most of the edifices now stand on the sites of those erected by the first colonists.* Great attention was paid by the Bermuda Company to the religious wants of the place, and the first clergymen appear to have possessed considerable influence. After the abolition of the Charter of the Proprietors, their pay appears to have been much neglected, as it was reduced, and very irregular, causing them to make frequent and bitter complaints,

* There is a piece of cedar still in existence which was taken from the pulpit of the old Parish Church of Pembroke with the date 1621 carved on it.

and they were usually compelled to keep day-schools for their support; as the inducement was so small, it frequently happened that one clergyman had the charge of four parishes, to which, of course, it was impossible for him properly to attend.*

In 1820, the Assembly passed an Act, dividing the nine parishes into five livings, and attaching a salary to each, of £120 sterling, payable from the Treasury. There were, besides, other provisions for regulating the establishment, although the whole law is very insufficient. The parish of St. George alone was provided with a resident clergyman, and possessed some other privileges not common to the others. In March, 1825, the Bermudas were annexed to the diocese of Nova Scotia, and a resident Archdeacon was appointed, with a salary of £400, half of which was paid by Act of Parliament, and the remaining £200, at the recommendation of the Secretary of State, was granted by the Governor and Council from the Colonial Fund, called the Powder Fund. In August, 1839, the Venerable Dr. Spencer, the Archdeacon of the Islands, was collated to the See of Newfoundland, to which the Bermudas were annexed, and an order was issued from Home to continue to him the Colonial salary of £200, which he had enjoyed whilst Archdeacon. This, added to the Imperial Grant of £1000, increased the income of the bishopric to £1200. This arrangement was certainly prejudicial to the best

* The Bermuda Company caused readers to be appointed for the tribes for whom there was no clergyman. Their duty appears to have been to read the Service on Sundays.

interests of the Islands, which are now bound to pay £200 per annum to a bishopric with which they must ever have very little connection. It would certainly have been wiser to have attached the Colony to the See of Barbadoes, allowing the office of Archdeacon to continue.

Besides the nine parish churches, there is a temporary place of worship at St. David's Island, and three Episcopal chapels. There is also an extensive building in progress in the town of Hamilton, in connection with the establishment. The Presbyterians have a neat kirk in Warwick, and a smaller one in Hamilton, recently built. In 1831, the Legislature granted a salary of £60 per annum to the incumbent of the kirk in Warwick, which he still enjoys. The Wesleyans have a fine chapel in the town of St. George, a commodious one in Hamilton, and seven smaller places of worship throughout the Islands; they receive nothing from the Treasury, but pay their ministers from their own resources.

The Clergy Act of 1820 was passed for thirty years, and was received at the time without complaint; but the Wesleyans have since materially increased, and now form an influential body, and it may reasonably be doubted if they will consent to be taxed to pay clergymen they never hear, unless they are to participate in the grant for religious purposes. Each parish pays the rector a salary according to its ability, and this amount, together with the repairs of the church and other expences, is assessed at Easter. There are two clergymen for the dockyard at Ireland

Island, whose duties are confined to that place, and who are paid entirely by the Home Government.

Education is at a low ebb in the Bermudas, and no correct opinion of its condition can be formed by reading the reports of Societies, which are generally inclined to speak favourably of their own exertions. This important subject appears to have interested many worthy men from the earliest period of the settlement, and particularly since the proposal of Bishop Berkley to erect a college on the Islands for the education of the aborigines of America. Foremost among them, the Rev. Mr. Lyttleton made every effort to procure funds for building and endowing a collegiate establishment, about the latter half of the last century; it is to be regretted that his benevolent efforts entirely failed. The Bermuda Company made laudable provision for the support of public schools, by grants of land throughout the colony. These lands were sold at long leases, subject to an annual rent of tobacco, which constituted the pay of the schoolmaster; how or when much of the soil became alienated from its original intention, cannot now be ascertained. Previously to the Clergy Act of 1820, the stipends of the clergymen were so small that they were forced to establish day-schools for a maintenance. In this way a number of good classical schools were always to be found in the colony; but after that period this advantage was lost to the people. In 1816, an Act was introduced for erecting and partially endowing a college on the plan proposed by the Rev. Mr. Lyttleton, upon lands be-

queathed for the purpose in the Parish of Devonshire. The various lands which had been given for educational purposes, and which were then held in trust, were sold by the Legislature, and the proceeds applied to the building of the academy. A grant was also made by the Assembly for maintaining the establishment until it was hoped it would be enabled to make its way; but after some years trial it signally failed, and the fine building is now suffered gradually to decay. Great efforts were made by Archdeacon Spencer,* to promote education among the poorer classes and coloured inhabitants, and the colony owes much to his benevolence and kindness, which were unwearied. He not only promoted the few schools which he found, but by his influence he established and maintained many others.

The younger children of the coloured people derive great benefit from the zeal of the Wesleyans, whose exertions are always well-directed. Some attempts have recently been made in the Legislature to adopt a system of public education throughout the colony, but the subject is surrounded with difficulties.

Governor Reid has paid great attention to the important subject of a general system of education, and there can be no doubt that the plan of industrial schools, proposed by him, will ultimately prove of lasting benefit to the Islands. By a judicious notice of individual efforts, he has not only endeared himself to the teachers, but has caused a proper feeling of emulation among them, which has already been very

* Now Lord Bishop of Jamaica.

beneficial. There is certainly a growing desire to improve the character of the schools in the Islands, and a general wish among the inhabitants to procure competent teachers.

By the official return of 1844, there were sixteen public schools supported by colonial grants, and voluntary contributions of the Society for the Education of Negroes, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the whole cost of these amounted to £538 sterling, and as there were 536 scholars, the average was something over £1 for each pupil. There were also, in 1844, by the same return, twenty private schools, altogether maintained by the parents of the pupils.

The generality of the tradesmen in the Bermudas are inferior as artificers, and indeed most of them hardly deserve the name. This may be attributed to this circumstance; the slaves not having been required for the cultivation of the soil in sugar, as in the West Indies, it became a system to allow them to work where they pleased, on giving a certain portion of their earnings to their owners. Every proprietor was of course desirous that his negroes should obtain the wages of artificers, consequently the numbers of these gradually increased, and their skill diminished in proportion, so that many of the coloured population who now style themselves mechanics, scarcely deserve the name.* This is one of the reasons for the high price

* The following observations were made by an eminent Bermudian: "The slaves having been brought up to the mechanic trades, with a view

of ship and house-building, as well as the slowness and unworkmanlike manner in which the buildings are executed. There is but one remedy for this, and it rests with the public to adopt it by establishing schools throughout the Islands for general education connected with the mechanical arts. Each pupil would in this way learn a useful employment, and able and intelligent practical workmen would abound throughout the colony.

By the present arrangement of the West India Mail Steamers, there are two direct and regular lines of communication maintained with the Bermudas; one from Demerara, by Trinidad, and the most windward of the West India Islands to St. Thomas, and thence to the Bermudas, and one from the more westwardly part of the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico. They usually arrive on the 17th and 19th days of each month, and the first generally remains three days; the last, requiring little coal, seldom stays more than twelve hours. The freight and passengers

to profit, engrossed those employments, to the exclusion of the whites, who were, consequently, compelled to seek a livelihood abroad; and the women, who would otherwise have married these whites, and become the mothers of families, lived and died in a state of celibacy. This prevented the natural increase of the white population, and occasioned that of the black to take the lead in augmentation. About thirty-five years ago, the Legislature endeavoured to obviate this painful effect, by passing laws imposing duties upon all slaves who would be put to learn the mechanic trades, and giving bounties to whites who should be apprenticed to acquire them. The motive, however, for passing these laws not being understood in this country (England), and they being considered as oppressive upon slaves, they were generally disallowed by the King in Council."—*A Plan for the Instruction, &c., of the Emancipated People of Colour*. By James Christie Esten, L.L.D., p. 11. London, 1837.

for England are all embarked on board of the first of these two, and the other returns to the Havana station. The mails from England by the North American route are brought from Halifax, N. S., in sailing vessels, monthly from December to February, and semi-monthly from March to November, all inclusive.* By a recent arrangement, one of these mails is detained to meet the West Indian steamers, but the great uncertainty attendant on sailing-vessels causes this route to be seldom frequented by passengers, and little used for letters. The many important advantages which would result to both companies by connecting the West India and North American lines with steam at Halifax, Boston or New York, cannot long be overlooked, and the day is not very distant when the Bermudas are destined from their position, to become the channel of communication for both routes. The passengers who would otherwise pursue the West India route for the United States, are all compelled to resort to sailing vessels, from the uncertainty of obtaining comfortable conveyances after their arrival at the Bermudas. The mails are all landed at the town of St. George, and are brought express to Hamilton by a colonial arrangement, in two hours. There was no regular daily communication by post between the two towns until 1842, when one was established by an Act of the

* There is now direct steam communication between England and Bermuda. The West India Mail Steamer, which leaves Southampton on the 2nd of each month, goes first to Bermuda. This arrangement took effect on the 2nd November, 1847.

Legislature. In the following year this was extended to Mangrove Bay, the western extremity of the islands ; both are alternate, and although defective in their arrangements, from a want of experience, they have been productive of great public benefit.

The Deputy Postmaster-General resides at St. George, and is paid chiefly by the Home Government ; but the postmaster at Hamilton is altogether a colonial officer.

There is a respectable Public Library in the town of Hamilton, established in 1839, by the Colonial Government, at the recommendation of Governor Reid. The subscriptions are very moderate, and access to the books is easy, thus placing a fund of information at the disposal of every respectable member of the community. With the amount received from subscribers, and occasional grants from the Legislature, after paying the current expences of the institution, books, generally of a standard character, are imported from England, and the number of volumes is fast increasing. A Museum has also been established by the colony, which, from the collections already made, promises to become interesting ; both of these institutions have at present temporary accommodation in the public building, but the government has decided on erecting a suitable place for the purpose. There are some other libraries belonging to various societies, but all are of recent date. The coloured population have several Friendly Societies for charitable purposes, but they are of a limited nature, and their principles are not generally known.

The Savings' Bank, established in 1842, confined as it is to deposits upon which no interest is allowed, can never be of much consequence, unless it may ultimately lead to some institution of a more useful character; at present it is a burthen on the revenue, as the Treasurer of the Islands, as banker, is allowed a small and inadequate per centage on all receipts. By locking up much of the circulating medium of the place, it is likely to become an evil. It has, however, produced habits of economy among the labouring classes, many of whom have made deposits out of their savings since this opportunity for safe-keeping was offered them.

A few observations may here be added respecting the constitution and jurisdiction of the courts for the administration of the laws in the islands. The Court of Chancery is constituted by the Governor and Council, or any five of them, of whom the Governor must be one. It has power and authority to hear, examine, determine and decree all causes and matters whatever, as fully and amply as the High Court of Chancery in England can do, and has power to make such rules and regulations respecting the practice merely of the said court, as may be expedient, and as nearly as may be, agreeably to the rules and practice of the Court of Chancery in England. The Court of General Assize was regulated by a Colonial Act, passed in 1814, and its proceedings and practice have been simplified and amended by an Act passed in 1834. It is a Court of Record, and is held at the town of Hamilton twice a year (in May and November), by the Chief-Justice

of the Islands, and one or more, not exceeding two assistant justices, or in case the latter are absent or unable to attend, by the Chief-Justice alone. Should he be absent or disabled by sickness, the court may be held by two assistant justices. It has the same powers, rights, jurisdiction, and authority as belong to, or are enjoyed or exercised by, the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, Oyer and Terminer, General Gaol Delivery, and Assize in England. The Assizes commence on the first Mondays in May and November, and continue, if necessary, for the trial of jury causes till and inclusive of the second Saturday following, when the juries are discharged. The court has then power to adjourn to a period not exceeding sixteen days, when it may sit for hearing matters of law. This court holds pleas in all manner of causes and actions, civil and criminal, and has power to make rules and regulations respecting merely the practice of the court, as may be expedient, and as nearly as conveniently may be agreeable to the practice established in the common law courts at Westminster Hall. An appeal lies from this court by writ-of-error to the Court of Errors, consisting of the Governor and Council, or any five of them, (except such as may be judges of the court appealed from,) of which five the Governor must be one; and if the judgment entered, or debt, or damages laid exceed £590 currency (£300 sterling) an appeal lies from this court to the King in Council. This court may also make rules of practice merely, agreeable to the laws and practice in England.

There are other courts for the administration of

justice in the Bermudas, as a Court of Exchequer, a Court of Ordinary (of limited powers), an Instance Court of Vice-Admiralty, and a Court of Quarter Sessions, and their proceedings are as nearly as local circumstances will admit, in conformity to the laws and practice of England.

Mr. Martin, in his Colonial Statistics, estimates the value of property annually created in the colony, at £400,000, and the value of moveable and immoveable property at £5,000,000; but the Statistical Chart, from which this statement is taken, cannot be relied on, as it gives the Bermudas and other colonies in the New World, a number of Syrian, Greek, Mahomedan, and Hindoo inhabitants.*

* Statistics of the British Colonies, &c. By Robert Montgomery Martin, Esq. London, 1839.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

**Decima nona pars PATEN de anno Regni Regis
JACOBI Tertio decimo.**

D'Con Gubuator & Societat de Civitate London Plantacoe de le Somer Islands. (10) } JAMES by the Grace of God Kinge of Englande Scotlande Fraunce and Irelande Defender of the Faithe &c. To all unto whome these presents shall come Geetinge WHEREAS at the humble suite of divse and sundrie our lovinge subjects as well Adventurers as Planters of the firste collonie in Virginia and for the Ppogacon of Christian Religion and reclayming of People barbarous to Civilitie and Humanitie Wee have by our Lres Patents bearing date at Westminster the three and twentieth daie of Maie in the seventh yeare of our Raigne of Englande Fraunce and Irelande and the twoe and fortith of Scotlande given and graunted unto them that they and all suche and soe manie of our lovinge Subjects

as shoulde from time to time for ever after bee joined wth them as Planters or Adventurers in the saide Plantacon and their Successors for ever should be one Bodie politique incorcoparte by the Name of the Treasurer and Companie of Adventurers and Planters of the Citie of London for the firste collony in Virginia AND WHEREAS alsoe for the greater good and benefit of the said Companie and for the greater furthurance strentheninge and establishing of the saide Plantacon we did further give graunte and confirme by our saide Lres Patents unto the said Treasurer and Companie and their Successors for ever All those Landes Countries and Territories scituate lyinge and beinge in that parte of America called Virginia from the point of Lande called Cape or Pointe Comforte all alonge the Seacoaste to the Northwarde twoe hundred Miles and from the saide pointe of Cape Comforte all alonge the Seacoaste to the Southwarde twoe hundred Myles And all that space and circuite of lande lyinge frome the Seacoaste of the Pcincte aforesaide upp or into the Lande throughout from Sea to Sea West and Northwest And alsoe all the Islands lyinge wthin one hundred Miles alonge the coaste of both the Seas of the Pcincts aforesaide with divse other Graunts Libties Franchiesies Pheminences Priviledges Pfitts Benefitts and Comodities graunted in and by our saide Lres Patents to the saide Treasurer and Companie and their Successors for ever AND WHEREAS alsoe for further incouragement to the saide Treasurer and Companie and at their humble suite and request wee have by our other Lres Patents

bearinge date at Westminster the twelveth daie of Marche in the nynth yeare of our Raigne of Englande Fraunce and Irelande and of Scotlande the five and fortith given graunted and confirmed unto the saide Treasurer and Companie of Adventurers and Planters of the Cittie of London for the first collony in Virginia and to their Heires and Successors for ever All and singuler those Islands whatsoever scituate and beinge in anie parte of the Ocean Seas boderinge uppon the coaste of our saide firste Collonye in Virginia and beinge wthin three hundred leagues of anie the parts heretofore graunted to the saide Treasurer and companie in our said former Lres Patents as aforesaid and beinge wthin or betweene the one and fortie and thirtie degrees of Northerlie latitude togeather with divse other Grauntes Libties Franchesies Pheminences Priveledges Pfitts Benefitts and comodities graunted in and by our saide laste recited Lres Patents to the saide Treasurer and Companie of Adventurers and their Successors for ever AND WHEREAS the saide Treasurer and Companie of Adventurers and Planters of the Cittie of London for the firste Collony in Virginia have by their Indenture bearinge date the five and twentieth day of November in the tenth yeare of our Raigne of England Fraunce and Irelande and of Scotlande the sixe and fortith for and in consideracon of the Some of twoe thousande Poundes of lawfull Money of Englande to them in hande before the Sealinge and Deliverie of the said Indenture well and trulie satisfied contented and paide graunted bargained sould be enfeoffed and confirmed unto

Sir William Wade Knight Sir Dudley Diggs Knight
Sir Baptist Hicks Knight Richarde Martin of the
Middle Temple London Esquier John Wolstenholme
Esquier Richarde Chamberlaine Robte Offeley Robte
Johnson Jerome Heydon George Scott and George
Barkeley of London Merchants their Heires and
Assignes All those Islandes Parcell of and conteyned
wthyn our laste recited Guifte and Graunt fromerlie
called by the name of Bermudas or the Bermuda
Islands and now called the Somer Islands scituate
lyinge and beinge in those parts of the Ocean Seas
borderinge uppon the coaste of the said firste Colony
in Virginia wch lie wthin the thirty one and thirtie
five degrees of Northerlie latitude togeather wth all
and singuler Soiles Lands Grounds Havens Ports
Rivers waters beinge parte or parcell of the saide
Islands and all Fishings Mynes and Myneralls as well
Royall Mynes of Gould and Silver as other Mynes
and Mineralls Pearles precious Stones Quarries and
all and singuler other Comodities Jurisdiccions Royal-
ties Privileges Franchises and Pheminences whatsoever
both by Sea and Lande to the said Islands adjoining
appteyninge or in anie wise belonginge in as large
and ample manner to all intents and Pposes as they
the saide Treasurer and Companie mighte or coude
enjoy the same by vertue of our gracious Lres Patents
laste aforesaid as in and by the saide Indenture
inroiled in our High Court of Chauncerie doth and
maie appear AND WHEREAS the saide Sir William
Wade Sir Dudley Diggs Sir Baptist Hicks Knight
Richard Martin John Wolstenholme Esquiers Richarde

Chamblaine Robte Offely Robte Johnson Jerome Heydon George Scott and George Barkeley of London Marchaunts by theire Indenture bearing date the three and twentieth daie of November in the twelveth yeare of our Raigne of Englande Fraunce and Irelande and of Scotlande the eighte and fortith as well for themselves as alsoe by and with the full consent and agreemente of William Lord Candishe Sir John Harrington Sir Walter Cope Sir Thomas Smith Sir Robte Mansell Sir Edwyn Sandys Knights and divse other Psons therein intessed for divse and sundrie good important and waightie causes and consideracons them and everie of them thereunto especia-llie movinge have given graunted and surrendred unto us our Heires and successors all those the saide Islandes with all and singular Soiles Landes Groundes Havens Ports Rivers Waters formlie called Bermudas and nowe Somer Islands beinge parte or parcell of or conteyned within our saide gracious guifte and graunte And all Fishings Mynes and Mineralls as well Royall Mynes of Goulde and Silver as other Mynes and Mineralls Pearles Precious Stones Quarries and all and singuler other Comodities Jurisdiccons Royalties Priviledges Franchesies and Pheminences whatsoever both by Sea and Land to the said Islandes adjoyning appteyning or in aniewise belonginge in as large and ample manner to all intents and Pposes as they the saide Sir William Wade Sir Dudley Diggs Sir Baptiste Hicks Richard Martin John Wolstenholme Richarde Chamberlaine Robte Offely Robte Johnson Jerome Heydon George Scott and George Barkley might or

could enjoy the same by Vertue of the saide Indenture of Bargaine and Sale from the said Treasurer and Companie soe thereof unto them made as aforesaid together with the saide Indenture of bgaine and sale and all their Righte Title Interest and Demaunde whatsoever of and in the same To HAVE AND TO HOLD possesse and enjoy all and singuler the saide Islands formerlie called the Bermudas and nowe Somer Islands wth all and singuler the saide Soiles Landes and Grounds and other the Pmisses whatsoever before by the saide recited Indenture of Bargaine and Sale graunted or thereby menconed or intended to bee graunted unto us our Heires and Successors for ever To the sole and Pper use and behoofe of us our Heires and Successors for evmore of which saide Graunte and Surrender for the like important and waightie causes and consideracons we have been graciously pleased to accepte Nowe forasmuch as wee are given to understande that by the greate expences and industrie of our Trustie and Welbeloved Subjects Henrie Earle of Southton William Earle of Pembroke William Lorde Pagett John late Lorde Harrington deceased William Lorde Cavendishe Sir Thomas Smith Sir Robte Mansell Sir Edwyn Sandys Knights and sundrie other our lovinge Subjects hereunder in these Psents particulerlie to bee named Aventurers for the Plantacon of the saide Islands formerlie called the Bermudas or the Bermuda Islands and nowe called the Somer Islands beinge not at that tyme actuallie possessed or inhabited by anie Prince or Estate whatsoever but remayninge altogether desolate and voide

of Inhabitants The said Bermudas or Somer Islands have not onelie been thoroughlie made knowne and discovered but are at this Psent alsoe begun to bee peopled occupied cultivated and fortified by sundrie our lovinge subjects there nowe intendinge to remaine and continuwe and transported thither and there in greate parte maineteyned by and at the charges of the Adventurers aforesaide intendinge by the assistance of God to make Pfecte the populating and plantinge of those said Islands Wee therefore tendringe the good and happie success of the Plantacon of the saide Islands both in regarde of the genal Weale of humane Societie as in respecte of the good of our owne estate Kingdomes and People And beinge willinge to give furtherance unto all good meanes that maie advaunce the benefitt of the said Adventurers and wch maie secure the safetie of our lovinge Subjects planted or to bee planted in the saide Islandes under the favour and ptecccon of God Almightye and of our Royal Power and Authoritie Have of our especiall Grace ctaine Knowledge and meerre Mocon given graunted and confirmed and for us our Heires and Successors Doe give graunte and confirme unto our said trustie and welbeloved Subjects Henrie Earle of of Southton William Earle of Pembroke Lucie Countesse of Bedforde William Lord Pagett William Lorde Cavendishe Sir Ralphe Winwood Sir Robte Riche Sir Thomas Smith Sir Robt Mansell Sir Edwin Sandis Sir Dudley Diggs Sir John Watts Sir Anthony Auger Sir Samuel Sandis Sir John Merick Sir Richarde Smith Sir Thomas Hogan Sir Lionell Cranfeild

Sir John Howard Sir Richard Grobham Sir Lawrence
 Hide Knights John Walter Richarde Martin John
 Wroth John Wolstenholme Richarde Chamberlaine
 Nicholas Hide William Garwaie George Thorpe Jere-
 my Heydon Esquiers George Chamblaine Mchant
 William Caunynge Marchaunte Anthony Hunton
 Doctor of Phisiche Richarde Tomlins Esquire John
 Heywarde Clarke William Payne Esquire Morrice
 Abbott Marchaunte Charles Anthony Gouldsmith
 Anthony Abdy William Aderly Arthur Bromfeilde
 George Barkley Marchaunte John Bancks Meer Chris-
 tofer Baron Edwarde Bishoppe John Bretton Nicholas
 Benson Thomas Church Thomas Covell Abraham
 Cartwright Allen Cotton Christofer Cletherowe Rich-
 arde Casewell Abraham Chamberlaine Edward Ditch-
 feilde Salter Abraham Dawes John Dike John Dell-
 ridge George Ethridge Nicholas Eyton Richarde Ed-
 wardes Nicholas Farrar Marchaunt John Fearne Giles
 Frauncis William Felgate Edwarde Fawcett John
 Fletcher William Greenewell Marchauntayler Robte
 Gore Marchauntayler John Geringe Raph Hamer Mar-
 chauntayler George Holeman Leonard Harwood John
 Hodges Robte Johnson Grocer Thomas Jadwin Thomas
 Johnson Phillipp Jacobson Edward Lukyn Raph Kinge
 John Kerell Thomas Lever Richarde Maplisden Rich-
 arde Morer Robte Offeley Marchaunte Thomas Norne-
 cott William Nicholls William Palmer Richard Paulson
 Hildebrand Pruson William Quick Richarde Rogers
 Elias Roberts Marchauntayler George Robins George
 Scott Edmund Scott George Swynehowe Abraham
 Speckharde Cleophas Smith Rodert Smith Mathewe

Shephard George Smith Grocer John Barnard Henry Tymberlake William Welby Stationer Thomas Wale Rice Webb Haberdasher Thomas Wells Thomas Whetley John West Grocer John Weld John Woddall William Webster Jedeon de Lawne John Osborne Waren Smith and Robert Phipps That they their Heires and Assignes which at anie time hereafter shall bee lawfull owners of the saide Somers Islands or anie parte thereof from time to time for ever shall bee one Bodie or Comynaltie Ppetuall and shall have Ppetuall succession and one comon Seale to serve for the saide Bodie or Comynaltie And that they and their Successors shall be knowne called and incorporated by the name of the Governor and Companie of the Cittie of London for the Plantacon of the Somer Islands and that they and their Successors shall bee from henceforth for ever enabled to take acquire and purchase by the Name aforesaide Licence for the same from us our Heires and Successors firste had and obteyned anie manner of Lands Tenements Hereditaments Goods and Chattells wthin our Realme of England and Domyinion of Wales And that they and their Successors shall be likewise enabled by the name aforesaid to pleade and to bee impleaded before anie of our Judges or Justices in anie of our Courtes and in anie Accons or Suites whatsoever and for the better Psecutinge of the Plantacon of the saide Islandes to effecte and to the happie Successe desired and the better Government from time to time of our loving Subjects which shall bee there residinge and inhabitinge as likewise for the more convenient orderinge of all affaires

and businesses there or here to the saide companie or Inhabitants or either of them belonginge or which hereafter maie belong We are graciously pleased for further encouragement of the saide Companie and Corporacon in accomplishinge and mainteyninge of a Worke soe worthie and comendable and at their humble Suite to give and graunte and accordingly by these our gracious Lres Patents of our especiall grace certaine knowledge and meere mocon for us our Heires and Successors Doe give graunte and confirme to the saide Companie and Corporacon and to their Successors and Assignes for ever under the Reservacons Limitacons and Declaracons hereafter expressed All those the said Islands formerlie called the Bermudas or Bermuda Islands and nowe called Somer Islands with all and singular Soiles Lands Grounds Havens Ports Rivers Waters beinge parte or parcell of the saide Islands and all Fishings Mynes and Myneralls as well Royall Mynes of Goulde and Silver as other Mynes and Myneralls Pearles precious Stones and all and singular other Comodities Jurisdiccons Royalties Priviledges Franchises and Pheminences whatsoever wthin the Territories or Pcinets of the saide Islands beinge or thereunto or thereabouts either by Sea or Lande adjoyninge appteyninge or in anie wise belonginge in as large and ample manner to all intents and Pposes as the foresaide Treasurer and Companie of Adventurers and Planters of the Cittie of London for the firste colonye in Virginia by vertue of either or of both our gracious Lres Patents aforesaid as at anie time heretofore mighte or coulde enjoye the same and in as

large and ample manner as wee by our Lres Patents maie or can graunte and in as ample manner and sorte as wee or anie our Noble Progenitors have heretofore graunted to anie Companie Bodie Polittique or Corporate or to anie Adventurer or Adventurers Undertaker or Undertakers of anie discoveries Plantacons or Traffique of in or into anie Forraine partes whatsoever and in as large and ample manner as if the same were herein Pticulerly menconed and expressed To have houlde possesse and enjoy all and singular the saide Islands Soiles Lands Groundes Havens Portes Rivers Waters wth all and singular other the Pmisses heretofore by these Psents graunted or menconed to bee graunted to them the saide Governor and Companie theire Successors and Assignes for ever To the sole and Pper use of them theire Successors and Assignes for ever To bee houlden of us our Heires and Successors as of our Mannor of Eastgreenwich in free and Comon Soccage and not in Capite Yeilding and payinge therefore to us our Heires and Successors the fifte part onelie of all Oare of Goulde and Silver that from time to time and at all times hereafter shall bee there gotten had and obtained for all manner of Services And forasmuch as the good and prosperous successe of the said Plantacon cannot but cheifelie depende next under the Blessinge of Almighty God and the supporte of our Royall Authoritie uppon the good govermente and discreete managinge of those Affaires and businesses which from tyme to tyme shall happen and arise concerning the said Plantacon or the saide Islandes or the Inhabitants thereof or the said Governor and Com-

paney and that it is not conveniente for all the saide Companie to be soe often drawne to meete and assemble as shall bee requisite to have meetings and conferences about their affaires Therefore our Will and Pleasure is And wee hereby ordaine and establishe that there shall bee chosen out of the said Companie one Governor and his Deputie with fower and twentie Assistants for managinge the genall business and affaires for and concninge the saide Somer Ilands And the saide Sir Thomas Smithe Knight We ordaine to be Governor of the saide Companie for this yeare next ensuinge which Governor or his Deputie in the saide Governors absence or sicknes shall have authoritie to give order for the warninge of the said Assistants and Companie and the saide Governor Deputie and Assistants or anie of them shall bee from henceforth nomynated continewed displaced chaunged altered and supplied as Death or other sevall occasions shall require out of the saide Companie of the Somer Islands by the voice of the greater parte of the saide Assistants and Companie in a genall courte assembled And Wee doe hereby ordaine and grante by these psents that the said Governor Assistants and Companie shall and maie once everie moneth or oftener at their pleasures houlde and keepe a Courte or Assemblie for the better orderinge and direccoon of the saide affaires in the saide Plantacon and suche thinges as shall concne the same And that anie seaven Psons of the saide Assistants whereof the Governor or his Deputie to bee one assembled together in suche Courte or Assemblie shall bee saide taken helde and

reputed to bee and shall bee a full and sufficient Courte of the saide Companie for the handlinge orderinge and dispatchinge of all suche casuall and perticuler occurrences as shall from time to time happen touchinge and concninge the saide Plantacon and Companie and that nevertheles for the handlinge orderinge and disposinge of Matters and Affaires of greater Waighte and Importance and suche as shall or maie in sorte concne the weale publique or genall good of the saide Companie and Plantacon as namelie the manner of Govermente from time to time to bee used the orderinge and devidinge of the Landes and Possessions amongste the saide Adventurers and their Assignes the eleccion of officers and the setlinge and establishinge of a Trade there or suche like there shall bee helde and kepte everie year upon the last Wednesday of Hillarie Easter Trinitie and Michaelmas Termes for ever one greate genall and solempue assemblee which fower sevall assemblies shall bee stiled and called the fower greate and genall courts of the Governor Assistants and Companie of the Somer Ilands In all and everie of which saide greate and genall Courtes soe assembled Our Will and Pleasure is and wee doe for us our Heires and Successors for ever give and graunte to the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors by these Psents that they the saide Governor or his Deputie and Companie or the greater number of them soe assembled shall and maie have full power and authoritie from time to time and at all times hereafter to electe and choosè fower and twentie discrete Psons to bee assistants and alsoe to nomy-

nate and appointe suche officers as they shall thinke fitt and requisite for the government mananginge orderinge and dispatching of the affaires of the said Companie and shall likewise have full power and authoritie to make suche Lawes and Ordinances for the good and welfare of the saide Plantacon as to them from time to time shall be thoughte requisite and meete soe alwaies as the same bee not contrarie to the Lawes and Statutes of this our Realme of Englande And our Will and Pleasure is and hereby wee doe establishe and ordaine that once everie yeare namelie the laste Wednesdaie in Easter Terme the place of Governor Deputie and Assistants of the said Companie and all other officers of the said Companie here residinge shall bee voide and shall be then in the genall courte to bee houlden for that daie newlie chosen for the yeare ensuinge by the greater parte of the voyces of the said Companie then Psente & excepte for Deathe Sicknes or absence or anie other importante occasion the said companie shall bee drawne to nomynate or electe the said Governor or Deputie or other officers at anie other time In which cases it shall bee lawfull for them to Pceed to a newe elecon accordinge to their discrecons And our Will and Pleasure is and wee doe for us our Heires and Successors ordaine and establishe that with all conveniente speede after the date of these Psents a juste and equall devision of the saide Ilands and of the Landes and other comodities Pfitts and Hereditaments therein conteyned shall be made by the said Governor and Company in some greate and genall quarter courte assembled

whereof one parte not exceedinge a fowerth parte of the saide Islands shall be allotted and reserved to the said Governor and Companie in comon for the maintenance and defrayinge of genall and publique charges from time to time And the remaine of the Pfitts of the saide Landes and other Hereditaments soe to bee allotted in comon after the saide publique charges defrayed shall bee yearelie devided amongst the sevall members of the saide companie accordinge to the Pporcon of eache Mans severall shares or partes and that the residue of the saide Ilands shall be devided into eighte sevall parts or tribes and that everie tribe shall containe fiftie sevall shares amountinge to the number of fower hundred in the whole accordinge to the number of the sevall Somes or Shares adventured And further our Will and Pleasure is that the saide Publique Landes and Pfitts thereof soe as aforesaide to bee allotted and sett aparte for genall and publique charges shall not be at anie time hereafter bee alienated sould be granted or applied to anie other use or uses whatsoever then as aforesaide excepte it shall appeare fitt to the saide Companie and more behooffull as well for the saide Companie as for the better occupying of the saide Landes that a devision of some parte of the said comon Lande bee made amongst the sevall Members of the saide Companie accordinge to the Pporcon of their shares or partes and that to bee done by a great genall Quarter Courte and confirmed alsoe at the next followinge great genall Quarter courte And that noe Man either then or at anie time hereafter shall be owner of above the number of

tenn of the saide shares or porcons excepte yt shall otherwise bee thought fitt or allowed by. a greate genall quarter courte and the same to bee alsoe confirmed by the nexte genall Quarter Court and that then noe Man whosoever shall in anie case bee admitted to have or enjoy above the number of fiteene of the saide Shares by anie Ptence or coullor whatsoev and for the Pventinge of anie wronge which in tyme to come by anie sinister or undue practize maie be done to the saide Companie it is our expresse Will and Pleasure and hereby wee grante unto the saide Governor and Companie and ordeine and establishe for us our Heires and Successors for ever that noe Pson or Psons shall at anie time hereafter bee admitted to have a voice as one of the said Companie or Corporacon in anie of their saide Courtes other then suche as shall bee lawfull owner of one intire share at the leaste and that all suche lawfull owners uppon their sevall requests to the said Governor and Companie shall in their nexte genall courte bee freeilie admitted into the same And further of our especiall Grace ctaine Knowledge and meere Mocon for us our Heires and Successors Wee doe by these Psentes give and graunte full Power and Authoritie to the saide Governor and Companie here resident and the greater number of them which in one of their saide genall Quarter Courtes shall be assembled as well at this Psent time as hereafter from time to time to nomynate make constitute ordaine and confirme by such Name or Names Style or Styles as to them shall seeme good and likewise to revoake discharge chaunge

needful to bee made or used for the Governente or other use of the said Islandes or the Plantacon And alsoe to make ordaine and establishe all manner of Orders Lawes Direcons Instrucons Formes and Ceremonies of Governente and Magistracye fitt and necessarie for and concninge the Governente or other use of the saide Plantacon and the same at all times hereafter to revoake abrogate or chaunge not onelie wthin the Precinctes of the saide Ilands and Plantacon but alsoe uppon the Seas in goinge and cominge to and from the saide Somer Ilandes as they in their Discrecons shall thinke to bee fittest for the good of the saide Companie and their Successors as alsoe of the Inhabitants there soe as the same alteracons bee not contraryinge or repugnant to the Lawes of this our Realme of Englande Nevertheles it is our directe Will and Pleasure that noe Comission be graunted to anie Man to houlde the place of Cheefe Governor of the saide Ilands for any longer time then the space of three yeares from the date of the said Comission And yet that it shall bee lawfull to renewe the said Comission to the saide Pson from time to time for three yeares more or for shorter time if it shall seeme to bee behoofefull for the saide Companie and the saide Inhabitants the saide Comission to comence and take Effecte ymediatlie after the deliverie thereof to the saide newe elected Governor either here in Englande or in the saide Somer Islandes And wee doe further of our especiall grace Ctaine knowledge and meere mocon for us our Heires and Successors

give and graunte by these Psentes unto the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors for ever that it shall bee free and lawfull for them and their Assignes att all and everie time and times hereafter out of our Realmes of England and out of all other our Domynions to take leade carrie and transporte in the Voyages and towards the Plantacon Inhabitinge or other Service in the saide Somer Islandes and either to abide and inhabite there or to retourne hither againe all such and soe manie of our lovinge Subjectes or anie other Straingers that will become our lovinge Subjects and live under our allegiance as shall willinglie accompanie them in the saide Voyage Plantacon or other Employmente in the saide Ilandes wth sufficient Shipping Armor Weapons Ordinances Municon Powder Shott Victualls and all manner of Marchandize and Wares and all manner of Clothinge Implementes Furniture Beastes Cattell Horses and Mares and all other things necessarie for the saide Voyages Plantacon and Inhabitantes of the saide Somer Ilandes and for their use and defence in passage and retorninge to and froe and for tradinge with our People or with the Savages in Virginia and to retourne and bringe hither all manner of Comodities whatsoever growinge or arisinge in or about the saide Somer Ilandes without yeildinge or payinge anie Subsidie Custome or Imposicon either inwarde or outwarde either at their going from hence or at their cominge hither or retorninge or anie other Taxe or Dutie to us our Heires or Successors for the space of seaven yeares

next from the date of these Psents Provided that none of the saide Psons to bee transported thither bee suche as shall bee hereafter by speciall name restrained by us our Heires or Successors And for their further Incouragement of our especiall grace and favour Ctaine knowledge and meere mocon Wee doe by these Psentes for us our Heires and Successors give and graunt unto the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors and everie of them their Factors and Assignes that they and everie of them shall bee free and discharged of and from all payment of Subsidies and Customes in the saide Somer Ilandes for the space of one and twentie yeares and from all other Taxes and Imposicons as well duringe the saide seaven yeares and the saide one and twentie yeares as alsoe for ever after uppon anie Goodes or Marchandizes at anie time or times hereafter either uppon anie Importacon into the saide Ilandes or Exportation from thence or uppon anie Importacon of the Goodes and Marchandizes of the saide Ilandes into this our Realme of Englande or anie other our Domyinions or Exportacon of anie Goodes and Marchandizes from our saide Realme and other our Domyinions into the said Ilandes by the said Governor and Companie and their Successors or anie of them their Deputies Factors or Assignes or anie of them anie of our former Lres Patentes grauntes or priviledges to anie Pson or Psons in aniewise notwithstandinge excepte onelie the five Pounds P Centum due for Custome after the saide seaven yeares expired uppon the saide Goodes and Marchandizes exported and imported out of and into

this our Realme of Englande and after the saide one and twentie yeares for Goods and Marchandizes exported and imported out of or into the said Ilands accordinge to the Bookes of Rates & accordinge to the auncient Trade of Merchaunts wth five poundes P Centum onelie beinge paide or tendered it shall bee thenceforth lawfull and free for the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors or anie of them their Deputies Factors or Assignes or anie of them the same Goodes and Mechandizes to export and carrie out of our Domynions into Forraigne Parties without anie Custome Taxe or other Dutie to bee paide to us our Heires or Successors or to anie other our Officers or Deputies Provided that the saide Goods and Marchandizes bee shipped out wthin thirteene moneths after their firste landinge wthin anie parte of our Domynions And Wee doe alsoe confirme and graunte to the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors as alsoe to all and everie suche Governor or other Officers or Minister as shall bee appointed by them to have Power and Authoritie of Governement and Comaunde in or over the saide Somer Ilandes or in the waie goinge thither or retourninge that they and everie of them shall and lawfully maie from time to time and at all times for ever hereafter for their severall defence and safetie encounter expulse repell and resiste and subdue retaine and possesse by force and armes as well by Sea as by Lande and by all Waies and Meanes whatsoever all and everie such Pson and Psons whatsoever as wthout the speciall Licence of the saide

Governor and Companie and their Successors shall attempte to inhabite wthin the saide sevall Precinctes and Lymitts of the saide Somer Ilands and alsoe all and evy suche Pson and Psons whatsoever as shall enterprize or attempte at anie time hereafter Distruccon Invasion Hurte Detryment or Annoyance to the saide Plantacon or our People wthin the saide Ilandes inhabitinge or to anie the Shipping Mariners Passengers Marchandizes or other Goodes whatsoever of the saide Governor and Companie of the Inhabitantes of the saide Ilandes either goinge thither or retourninge or elsewhere peaceable and lawfullie tradinge or trafiqueinge and for that the safetie and welfare of the said Plantacon and of the Inhabitants of the saide Ilandes must necessarily muche depende upon the Pvident care of the saide Governors and Companie to supply them from time to time wth suche kindes of thinges necessarie both for Municon and otherwise as in the saide Ilandes cannot be otherwise had and wthout which the Plantacon of the saide Ilandes cannot Pceede bee continewed uphoulden and Psper And for that alsoe by reason of the remotenes of the saide Ilandes from these our Domynions if the Shippes thither employed or intended for that svce shoulde at anie times by coulour of Authoritie from us be staied here or diverted to some other Employmente or svce or if anie Pvision shoulde bee taken oute of the saide Shippes it mighte redounde to the greate distrsseinge of the Inhabitants of the saide Ilands as alsoe upon some extraordinarie causes of Want there and neces-

sitie to the utter overthrowe and distruccon of the saide Plantacon Wee doe therefore of our further Grace ctaine Knowledge and meere Mocon for us our Heires and Successors graunte to the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors for ever that noe staie or other Implaymente either wthin anie of the Portes of our Domynions or at Sea shall at anie time bee made of anie of their Marriners Shippes or Shippinge Pvided or intended for the saide Ilandes or anie of the Pvicons Goods Marchandize or Munion in any of their saide Shippes bee taken or deteyned from them by anie Coullor or Petence of Authoritie dirived or to bee dirived from us our Heires or Successors uppon anie occasion whatsoever Alsoe Wee doe for us our Heires and Successors declare by these Psentes that all and everie the Psons beinge our Subjects which shall goe and inhabite wthin the saide Somer Ilandes and everie of their Children and Posteritie which shall happen to bee borne wthin the Lymitts thereof shall have and enjoy all Libties Franchesies and Ymunities of free Denizens and naturall Subjectes wthin anie of our Domynions to all Intentes and purposes as if they had been abidinge and borne wthin this our Kingdome of Englande or in anie other of our Domynions And forasmuch as it shall bee necessarie for all suche our lovinge Subjectes as shall inhabite wthin the saide precincts of the Somer Ilandes aforesaide to determyne to live together in the Feare and true Worshipp of Almightye God Christian Peace and civill quietnes eache wth other whereby everie one

maie wth more Safetie Pleasure and Pfitt enjoy that whereunto they shall attaine wth greate Paine and Perill Wee for us our Heires and Successors are likewise pleased and contented and by these psentes doe give and graunte unto the saide Governor and Companie and Successors and to suche Governors Officers and Ministers as shall bee by the saide Governor and Companie or the greatest part of them assembled constituted and appointed accordinge to the nature and lymitts of their Offices and Places respectivelie that they shall and maie from time to time for ever hereafter wthin the saide Precincts of the Somer Ilands or in the Waie by the Sea thither and from thence have full and absolute power and authority to correcte punishe pardon governe and rule all suche the Subjects of us our Heires and Successors as shall from time to time adventure themselves in anie Voyage thither or that shall at anie time hereafter inhabite wthin the Precincte of the saide Somer Ilands accordinge to suche Orders Ordinances Constitucons Direcccons and Instrucons as by the saide Governor and Companie shall be established and in defecte thereof in case of necessitie accordinge to the good discrecon of the saide Governor and Officers respectivelie aswell in cases Crimynall as Civill both Marine and other soe alwaies that the saide Statutes Ordinances and Pceedings as neere as convenientlie maiebee bee agreeable to the Lawes Statutes Governemente and Pollicy of this our Realme of Englande And Wee doe further of our especiall Grace ctaine Knowledge and meere Mocon graunte declare and

comaunde that suche principall Comaunder as from time to time shall be dulia and lawfullie authorized and appointed in manner and forme in these Psents heretofore expressed shall have full Power and Authoritie to use and exercise Martiall Lawe in Cases of Rebellion or Mutiny in as large and ample manner as our Lieftenants of our Counties wthin our Realme of Englande have or ought to have by force of their Comissions of Lieftenancy by a Jurie of twelve Men And to the Intent that the saide Companie their Successors and Assignes shall and maie enjoy the full and sole benefitt and Pfitt of this our graunte accordinge to the true Intent and Meaninge of the same our Will and Pleasure is and by these Psents for us our Heires and Successors of our more especiall Grace Ctaine Knowledge and meere Mocon and of our supream and absolute authoritie which wee forbidd to bee argued disputed or brought in question Wee doe straightlie charge and commaunde all and everie Pson and Psons whatsoever of what degree or condition soever bee they or anie of them bee that none of them other than the saide Companie their Successors Assignes Deputies Servantes Factors or their Assignes or some of them doe at anie time hereafter attempte Psume or goe aboute anie manner of Waie directlie or indirectly to transporte anie Moneys Goodes or Marchandizes out of anie our Kingdomes into the lymitts or boundes of the said Somer Ilandes or importe out of the saide Ilandes or anie parte thereof into anie Forraigne partes or into anie our Kingdomes uppon Paine of Forfeature of all suche Money Goodes

and Marchandizes which shall bee soe imported or exported contrarie to the true meaning of these Psentes and of the Shippes or Vessells wherein the same shall bee soe transported or imported to the use of the saide Companie their Successors and Assignes And uppon suche further Paines Penalties and Imprisonmentes as by the Lawes and Statutes of this Realm or by our Prerogative Royall maie anie waie bee inflicted or adjudged for their contempt in that behalf And furthermore if anie Pson or Psons Adventurers or Planters of the aforesaid Somer Ilandes or anie other at anie time or times hereafter shall transporte anie Moneys Goodes or Marchandizes out of anie our Kingdomes wth a Ptence or purpose to land sett or otherwise wthin the lymitts and boundes of the saide Somer Ilands and yet nevertheless beinge at Sea after hee hath landed within anie porte of the saide Somer Ilandes shall privilie or disorderlie carrie the same into anie Forraigne Countrie wth a purpose there to sell and dispose thereof That then all suche Goodes and Chattells of the saide Pson or Psons soe offendinge and transported shall bee forfeated to us our Heires and Successors And forasmuch as our Will and Pleasure is that noe Pson addicted to the Supersticon of the Church of Roome bee at any time Pmitted to passe unto the saide Ilandes Wee doe further for us our Heires and Successors give and graunte to the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors for ever by these Psentes that the saide Governor of the saide Companie or his Deputie for the time beinge as alsoe anie twoe of the saide

Assistantes by appointment of the saide Governor or Companie in anie of their Courtes assembled shall and maie at all times hereafter and from time to time have full power and authoritie to minister and give the Oathe and Oathes of Supremacie and Allegiance or either of them to all and every Pson or Psons which shall at anie tyme or times hereafter goe or passe to the saide Somer Ilandes And it is our Will and Pleasure that the saide Governor for the time beinge or his Deputie or anie two Assistantes shall tender and exhibite the saide Oathes to all such Psons as shall bee sent and imployed in the saide Voyage And Wee doe further for us our Heires and Successors give and graunte to the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors for ever by these Psentes that it shall be likewise lawfull for the saide Governor or his Deputy for the time beinge or for anie three of the saide Assistantes for the time beinge appointed by the greater parte of the saide Companie in one of their Courtes Assembled from time to time and at all times hereafter to mynister such a formall Oathe as by their discrecons shall be reasonable devised as well unto the saide Governor Deputie Assistantes and all other Officers of the saide Companie as alsoe unto anie Pson or Psons imployed or to bee imployed in for or touchinge the said Plantacon aswell for the true and faiethfull execucon and Pformance of their saide sevall offices and Implaymentes as alsoe for the rendringe of a juste true and Pfecte accompt in Writinge of all suche Goods and Moneys as by reason of the saide Offices or Implaymentes

shall have come to his or their handes belonginge unto the saide Companie or anie Member thereof unto the saide Governor and Companie in one of their Courtes assembled within one Moneth nexte after the expiracon of the saide sevall offices or Imploymentes and alsoe at all Governors Deputies Officers and other Mynisters of what nature soever or by what Title soever they shall be called which shall bee lawfullie sent or placed in the saide Landes aswell for the Government of the saide Landes or of anie parte thereof or of the Inhabitantes there or of anie of them as alsoe for the governinge orderinge safe keepinge and true accomptinge of and for all suche Landes Goodes Profitts and Commodities whatsoever as shall be comitted to their Governement charge care or custodie And for the honeste faithfull and juste discharge of their Offices Places and Services accordinge as they shall from time to time bee placed in the saide offices and in the saide Svices bee intrusted or comitted unto them for the good and benefitt of the saide Companie and Plantacon or of the Members thereof and alsoe unto suche Pson or Psons as the saide Governor or Deputie wth three other of the saide Assistantes shall thinke meete for the examinacon or clearinge of the Truth in anie Cause whatsoever concerninge the saide Companie Landes and Plantacon or anie business from thence Pceedinge or thereunto belonginge And wee doe further for us our Heires and Successors give and graunte unto the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors for ever that the Cheefe Comaunder residante in the saide Landes by what Name

or Title soever hee bee called shall have the like Power to minister a formall Oathe to all other Officers in the saide Ilandes and inferior Ministers whatsoever for the juste true and faithfull discharge of their severall places duties and services as alsoe unto anie other Pson whatsoever for the examinacon testifyinge and clearinge of the Truthe in anie cause whatsoever aswell concninge the saide Plantacon as anie other particuler business there arisinge for the maintayninge of Peace and Justice amongst the saide Inhabitantes And wee doe further for us our Heires and Successors give and graunte to the saide Governor and Companie and their Successors that they shall and lawfullie maie establishe and cause to bee made a Coyne to passe currant in the saide Somer Ilandes beetweene the Inhitantes there for the more ease of Commerce and bargayninge beetweene them of suche Mettall and in suche manner and forme as the saide Governor and Companie in anie of the saide genall Courtes shall lymitt and appoint And our further Will and Pleasure is and wee doe by these Psentes for us our Heires and Successors graunte unto the saide Governor and Companie of the Cittie of London for the Plantacon of the Somer Ilandes their Successors and Assignes That these our Lres Patents and all and singuler Grauntes and Clauses herein conteyned under the Condicons and Lymitacons therein menconed and expressed shall bee and continue firm strong sufficiente and effectuell in the Lawe and shall be construed reputed and taken aswell to the meaninge and intent as to the Wordes of the same most gracioslie favor-

able and to the Benefitt of the saide Companie their
Successors and Assignes Anie Lawe Statute Acte
Proviso Order Ordinance or Restrainte or anie Omission
or Defecte herein or anie other Cause Matter or
Thing to the contrarie thereof in anie wise notwithstandinge
Although etc In Witnes etc Witnes our
selfe at Westm the nyne and twentieth daie of June

P lre de privato Sigillo etc

APPENDIX B.

1612 A Commission granted by us the under-
April 27 takers for the Plantacon of Somer Islands
unto our well beloved friend Mr. Richard Moore and
the rest of the men and mariners employed upon the
saide voyage whome wee beseeche God to preserve

Imprimis WHEREAS we whose names are hereunder
written togeather wth divers others have to the glorie
of God and good of our countrye undertaken the
Plantacon of Somer Islands (sometimes called Bermu-
daes) And for that cause showing the good opinion
conceived of your Integritye and wisdoms have made
choise of you Mr. Richard Moore by a comon con-
sent to goe thither in Pson and remaine there as
deputie Governor for the said Plantacon duringe the
tearme of three yeares next ensewinge upon such con-
ditions as are expressed in the orders of our Court
booke belonginge unto the said Plantacon and have
also wth our greate costs and charges furnisht forth in
very sufficient manner the good shipp called the

Plough, Robert Daviss Captain and Richard Babb Mr wth sundrye necessarye Pvisions and 50 Psons or thereabouts to be landed in the saide Islands and lefte residinge to be disposed about such necessary service for the said Plantacon as you the said deputie shall direct them unto Therefore we will and require you the said Richard Moore that havinge put yorselfe and companie aboard the aforesaide shipp you doe (wth your uttermost power and skill) indeavor the most direct course for the saide Islands without makinge stopp or stay at any other place duringe the said voyage and to carrye yorselves respectivelye each to other accordinge to yor places both in obedience to your superiors and mutuall affeccion againe from them to the rest soe that love and kindness may be continued on all sides And all applie there uttermost endeavor for the due Pformance of, his voiage in the best manner they may for the good of the Plantacon and benefitt of the undertakers.

2. And for that Religious Goverment doth best bynd men to Pforme there duties It is principally to be cared for that prayers be saide every morninge and eveninge in the whole course of your said voyage and continued likewise duringe the time of your residence abroad as the best testimonie of your good carriage in your dutie to God and means to preserve peace and concord amongst yorselves for the better Pformance whereof there are divers good books provided and delivered unto you to be imployed for the said service

3. Beinge landed your especiall care must be to

looke out some convenient place wherein to sett yourselves fortifyinge in places convenient as yor meanes will afourde and not to be unmindfull of yor daylie service to God to blesse and preserve you in yor proceedings and in the saide place to build a storehouse for the safe custodye of yor sundrye provisions and houses for the releife and harbor of the companie allottinge to everye man such a proporcon of ground as is sett downe by the undertakers (viz.) to everye house one Roode of grounde for his garden and backside and for every married couple two Roodes of grounde

4. For the better sattisfacon and assurance of all such persons as shall be imployed for us in this plantacon that we intend not to make use of there labors for our owne private benefitt to neglect there publique profitte wee doe hereby ordaine that such persons workmen or laborers as shall at any time be imployed by you for our business in the saide plantacon you shall give unto them such reasonable day wages as in your discretion you shall esteeme them worthie to have deserved soe that exceed not 22d. for a workman and 12d. for a labourer for wch purpose by the next supplie there shall be a coyne sent unto you wth all convenient opportunitie together wth the rates and value thereof And in the meane time to cause true notes to be kept of whatsoever shall growe due to any for there said day labor as also for all provisions delivered them out of the Store at such reasonable rates as you shall thinke fitt

5. For that your prudence ought in charitie to

have good regard to the meanes for your future Pser-
vacon we doe therefore give you an especiall charge to
have a dilligent eye and care to cause the ground to be
fitted in due and seasonable time for the settinge and
sowinge of corne and other Pvisions for the reliefe of
yor companie to free us from the care and charge of
continuall supplies from hence the neglect whereof
hath been a greate detrimente and scandall to manye
other worthie acons heretofore undertaken in this
nature And to Ppare such grownds for severall
seeds as you shall fynde the same in any place
quallified for them and the season of the year answer-
able thereunto havinge a care to fence the same and
Pserve them from cattle or any other occasion of
annoyance

6. Forasmuch as we cannot expect any greate
returne of comodities by this shipp by reason of her
short staye yet wee advise & pray you to be as pro-
vident as you may to send us some fruits of your
labors to give encouragemt to the adventurers to
make the more speedie and better supplie unto you
especially of Ambergreece wch wee doubt not you
shall finde readye gathered by those three who weare
left by the last shipp or ells by the industrie of suche
of yor own companie as you shall imploye to seeke
for yt for whose better encouragement we are con-
tented to allowe for everye once (Troye waight) that
you shall receave from any of them the some of thir-
teene shillinges fowre pence but yf you shall finde
any man to goe about to conceale yt and appropriate
yt to his owne Pticuler use then you are to seaze

upon yt as you forfeite to the undertakers and inflict such other punishment upon the offender as the quality of there offences shall deserve

7. Yf you can Peure any Pearle .Ambergreece Tobacco Silke or Oyle arisinge by whale fishinge to be sent by this next shipp for example they will give much encouragemt wch are comodities reserved as royalties to the undertakers of the Plantacon and therefore whosoever shall undertake any paynes in Pcuring the same you are to give them such recompence as in your disposition you shall thinke fitt and they have deserved exceptinge onlie for Ambergreece wch is agreed upon as aforesaid

8. For all other comodities that are to be raised thereby the industrie of yor Companie either by plantinge Sugar Canes or any such like besides those formerlie reserved or whatsoever ells ariseth naturallie out of the soyle as marchandize you shall receive the one half thereof to the use of the undertakers and leave the other halfe to those that shall imploy there labor therein

9. Whereas we are given to understand of a yellowe wood growinge in Somer Islands wch is hard and heavie the vertue and Ppertie whereof are yet unknowne unto us wee doe therefore require you to send a Tunn of the biggest sorte thereof by this next returue yf you can conveniently and the like of any other coullored wood that we may make tryall of them to esteeme them accordinglie

10. Now havinge delivered unto you many netts for fishinge for the use of the Colonie and havinge

had tryall too often heretofore of the greate negligence used by others in Pserving such as have beene Pvided in the like nature we doe therefore wish you to be especially carefull to cause them to be hanged up for they have beene used and dryed exceedingly well before they were laid up for feare of rottinge wch a little care will easily Pvent & amend

11. Whereas the detayninge of the shipp in other accons have bene very Puidiciall to the adventurers by drawinge extraordinary charges upon them wee doe therefore require and charge you to be verve carefull to dispeed this shipp awaye backe againe wthin 20tie dayes And in the said tyme to advertyze yorselfe of all the said Islands and the commodities of them and signifye the same unto us by the said shipp That wee may be truly informed therein to to knowe what kinde of men and Pvisions to supplie by the next against wch time you are to make ready tobacco silke pearle ambergreece or any other kinde of marchandize wch time will not now afford to make returne of

12. For yor better ayde and assistance in the execucon of yor charge and Pformance of yor buisness we have thought good to appointe & ioyn as assistants unto you Mr. George Keth preacher of the woord Mr. Edwin Kendall Mr. John Adhe John Collabar Richard Garrard and Edward Chard to advise & determine all matters whatsoever shall be Psented for the good of the Plantacon and to be carefull to reteyne yor men in such civill honest behavior that there may be noe cause of punishmnt

found amongst them But all to applie themselves and best indeavors to the glorie of God and good of the Plantacon and undertakers in whose service they are employed

Forasmuch as good government and care in Pservinge such goods & Pvisions as shall from time to time be sent from hence for yor Releife As also Pvided and gathered together on shore of what nature soever will be an especiall meanes to Pserve the life of the accon and give good satisfaccon to all such as shall be employed therein we therefore beinge Psuaded of the honeste and sufficiency of the aforesaid John Collaber doe constitute and appointe him to be clarke of the store and to keepe accompts and reckoninge of all such Pticulers both Pvisions and marchandize as shall be brought in for the use of the planters and undertakers both out of England or collected in the the contrye that a true and iust accompt may at all times be rendered from him both of there expence & disposition for the uses aforesaid

Whereas we have now sent one Ralph Garner and employed his service for the makinge of Salte in the Summer Islands so therefore upon yor first cominge into the said pts you shall find by tryall that the earth and mould there cannot be made favourable to conteyne the liquor intended for that use nor any other meanes to be found in the said place fitt to be tempered for the use of salt panns wee doe then require you to signify the said defect by the first returne of this shipp that wee may by our next supplie furnish you wth plaster of Paris clay or some

other like fitt meanes from hence wishinge you to be very carefull to make tryall of a mixture made wth oyle of tortoises and powder of shells or such like wch necessitye compeld our men to finde out for there use instead of pitch & tarr for trimminge there shippes and did them excellent svce for that purpose

Yf you shall finde in your travells or can conveniently come by any fayre birds beasts or any other rare things fitt for us to make Psents of we pray you to be carefull to provide and send the same wth especiall charge to some carefull man or men to see them safely kept & delivered to us And wthall yf you can know any of the marriners or others to have any such that you cannot Pcure from them for reason then that you send us notice thereof to the end we may take order therein accordinglie

RICHARD MOORE

Whereas we have delivered to Mr. Richard Moore a Seale Ring wth Sr Thomas Smythes Armes engraven to seale up such thinges of value as he shall have occasion at any time to send unto us wee therefore doe require him to be verye carefull not to neglect the same but as opportunitie shall be of returninge any speciall matters of worth to seale them up wth the said seale which is to remain with the deputie Governor from time to time for the generall service yf yt should please God to take the said Richard Moore out of this life or time draw him back unto England upon any occasion whatsoever In which case of mortalitye for avoidinge confusion in the governmt of our

people and for that nothing is soe uncertayne as mans life Wee doe therefore ordaine that yf God should take you Mr. Richard Moore our deputie Governor out of this life before the expiracon of the said tearme of three yeares (wch he defend) then we comitt the Government of our men and Islands unto him whome we have nominated in a writinge subscribed by us and put by into a boxe No. 1 sealed wth hard waxe and delivered to the said Mr. Richard Moore to be kept close and not opened soe long as he shall live and yf upon the openinge of the said boxe the Ptie nominated in the first boxe be deputed out of this world before the openinge of the said boxe or have succeeded accordinge to our appointment and likewise dead then we committ the charge and govermt as before unto the care of one nominated by us in a writynge put upon a boxe No. 2 subscribed sealed and delivered as before not to be opened soe longe as the said Mr. Richard Moore or the partie menconned in the firste boxe No. 1 shall be livinge

E. COLLINGWOOD, Secr.

APPENDIX C.

CAPTAINE DANIELL TUCKER'S COMMISSION.

To all to whome these Psents shall come to be seene
reade or hard The Gouvernor and Companie of
Cittie of London for the Plantacon of the Somer
Islands send Greetinge WHEREAS our Soueraigne
Lord the Kinges Matie by his Ltres Pattents bearinge
date the 29th day of June in the 13th year of his
Mats raigne of England and Fraunce and Ireland and
of Scotland the 48th hath granted to us the said
Gouvernor & Companie full power and authoritie at
one of our greate generall quarter courts from time to
time to nominate constitute and choose by such name
and tyle as we shall think good all and singular such
officers and ministers for the gount and other use of
of the said Islands and Plantacons And hath also
given us further power for the better effectinge thereof
and for the orderlie gouernment of the people there
and in all yor voyages upon the Sea to the said

Islands to dispose of the said Gouvernor and ministers by such constitucons and instructions as in our discretion we shall thinke best and fittest to be done

Now knowe yee that we the said Gouvernor and Companie intendinge by the assisstinge of Almightye God this Psent month of Ffebruary to furnish and sett out two shippes wth men and sundry Puisions to the said Plantacon out of the good opinion wch we have conceived of Daniell Tucker Gent. have chosen and confirmed (in a greate general conrt) the said Daniell Tucker to be our Deputie Gouvernor over the said Plantacon for these next three yeares ensewinge and to goe in his owne Pson in this our nowe intended voyage to the said Islands in the good shipp called the George to gouérne over all Psons as well in the said voyage as after his landinge and arrival there willinge all Psons members of the said Plantacon to accept and obey him as there lawful choise Gounor and minister of Justice there as they will answer the contrarye at their Pill and accordinge to the power to us given by his Maties said Ltres Pattents wee doe hereby give charge and authoritye to him the said Daniell Tucker and to such as after the death and removall of him shall succede in that place to doe Pforme and execute everythinge wch to the office and place of a Captaine and Commander apptayneth according to the direcons and commandmts wch the said Daniell Tucker hath receaved or shall receave of us the said Gouvernor and Companie in writinge touchinge the said voyage and the buisnes of the said Plantacon the said Daniell Tucker obeyinge and

observinge all suche orders and constitutions as we the said Gouenor and Companie have made and sett downe in writinge and herewth delivered to the said Daniell Tucker who for the breache and transgression thereof shall give accompt to the Gouvernor and Companie resident in London at his returne to England wch we shall freele graunt to himselfe and to his servents at the expiracon of his gouermt and not otherwise In witness whereof we the said Gouvernor and Companie have hereunto put our seale this Psent 15th day of Ffebry Ao. Dm. 1615

These are the constitucons and instructions to you Mr. Daniell Tucker now chosen Deputie Gounor for the Somer Islands given by the Gouenor and Companie of the Cittye of London for the said Plantacon and mentioned in theire Commission wch they require you to observe in every pointe wth your beste indeavor

1. And first because noe accon or familie ^{The service of God} can Psper where the will of God is not obeyed nor the people well gouerned we enjoyne you principallie and before all thinges that you see the service of God Pformed first in yourselfe as a choise example and secondlie in every other Pticuler Pson under yor gouernment by causinge all vice and wickedness to be eschewed and prayer to be said every morninge and eveninge as well in your owne as in every other familie or resortinge to divine service and hear-

inge of the word of God preached at appointed times & due observinge of the Saboth and that you cause the people to behave themselves wth a reverent respect to their ministers and superors and to live in peace and amitie amongst themselves as Christians ought to do

2. For such as shall be irregular or dis-
With consent of the council to punishe. ordered Psons accordinge to the power of his Matis Ltres Pattents granted to us we give you authoritie wth such & soe manie of the councell as we shall hereafter appointe to punishe and correct there misdemeanors accordinge to the forme & manner of the lawes of England as neare as may be and in cases of rebellion to use martiall laws

To reade his Comission. 3. At youre firste arrivall in the Islands you shall cause an assemblie of all the people there to whome you shalle reade and manifest yor Comission wherby they may take and acknowledge you for there Gouenor that done

4. You shall take the two preachers Mr. Lewes and Mr. Keth to be of yor councell and by there assistance you shall nominate and choose out fortye honeste and sufficient men among the generalitie to be electors by wch 40 men or the most voyces of them shall be eight men amonge the generalitie not excluding any of the said 40 to be chosen that is for every tribe a man to be placed and called Baylife of the Tribe and those 8 to be alsoe of your councell at large to appeare at their owne pleasures or when urgent occasion is upon summons from you and to

assist you there in cases of iustice and in other matters of weight notwithstanding our pleasure is that noe man be removed from his owne or his Mtys or landlords possessions in any one tribe wherein he is now employed to be removed unto any other tribe upon any pretence whatsoever except the said Pson his My or landlord have possession in divers tribes

5. You shall then choose and appointe with consent of the said two preachers and the said 8 bayliffs an honest sufficient man out of the generalitie to be keeper or clarke of the store and accordinge to the invoice of all the provisions in those two shippes wch wee have delivered unto you you shall cause them to be safelie landed and whatsoever is directed to the particular dividents or to any private Pson you shall cause the same to be safelie delivered to whome they are directed taking their receipts to whome these Pvisions are delivered the same to be returned by the shipp that the owners of those severall families and friends of those private Psons may understand that they are not defrauded

6. Now those goods and Pvisions now sent for the generall employmt being landed you shall cause them to be put into the storehouse committing them to the clarke of the store the same goods and Pvisions to be yssued out to those of the generall employmt accordinge to each mans necessitie by the saide clarke at yor discretion and yor warrant directed unto him and not otherwise he keepinge a true Register of what and to whom they are delivered such man to be charged in Pticuler

The Clarke
of the
Store for to
take charge.

wth such Pvisions as he shall from time to time receave at the severall rates specified in the Invoice delivered unto you whereof you shall deliver a coppie unto him whereby he may knowe how to rate them accordinge to the Invoice as aforesaid

To divide the land according to the mapps
 7. Forasmuch as the Tribes are already divided and it now resteth to divide the land in Particular to every adventurer accordinge to the number of his shares you are to take order at your firste cominge thither wth the assistance of the said 2 Bayliffs that the said dividents may be made soe neare as you can according as is expressed in the mapp and in the noats of dividents wch we have herewith delivered unto you and cause bounds and limitts to be made ppon the said several dividents

To allott unto every share a man
 8. To the end that every adventurer that hath now sent Pvisions to supplie his share may have his number of men allotted to his dividant for wch he hath long since paid the Companie for there freight and passage you shall wth the assent of your Councell at large the foresaid eight bayliffs or the greatest number of those wch you shall there finde allott unto every share a man we mean unto every share wch hath now supplied and whereof we have given you a note in writinge the same men to be furnished and disposed into the severall tribes and families according to the direccons and instruccons now sent from hence by the mtrs and owners of the said families and not otherwise

9. And for those shares to wch we have given you note to any men it is because the owners thereof have not supplied there shares nor sent Pvisions nor dirrecons for any such men to be allotted unto them whereby these shares must either be manured to the generall use yf neede require or ellse remaine barren till further order from hence shall be taken in that case

10. For the better satisfyinge of the adventurers in this pointe of there Pticuler dividend of lands and men to be allotted them we pray you to send backe a certificate under yor and the hands of your severail councell of the names of those Psons that you shall have allotted to every share and of every Bayliffs name that every adventurer may know his substitutes and his chiefest man as also the name of the bayliff of the tribe to whome he may give his direcons hereafter Provided yf any adventurer doth make yt appeare unto you that he hath heretofore or now sent a speciall man or men to be of his familie he shall not be abridged of that choyce nor his men be disposed of to any other purpose

11. For that adventurers here would rest assured of the service of those men allotted to there shares that when they have received and spent there Pvisions they shall not be flightinge nor betake themselves to other courses at there own pleasure wee pray you to take this order and lett yt there be sett downe in yor Registry Book that the chief man allotted to each familie as also all the rest under him being once settled or acceptinge

Shares
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A noate
sent of men
on each
mans share

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man shall
be an
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to binde

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 their dutie
 to appeale
 to the
 Gouvernor

the Pusion sent for that familie may be held as bound in an assumpsit of Covenant thereby to be constant in the imployment of that familie for the tearme of five years accordinge to the conditions xpounded from hence and accepted by them from wch yf they or any one of them or whome we shall hereafter send to augment there numbers shall at any time omit or neglect there duties they shall alwayes appeale unto you And doe will you not to fayle us in that case to see us righted therein And that the Pson or Psons soe faylinge or offendinge in there imploymt may be forced by punishment or otherwise to reforme themselves Provided yf any difference or controversie shall arise in any tribe or familie the same shall be ended yf yt may be by the bayliffe of the same tribe without troublinge the Gouvernor and Councell for every trifle or themselves in travellinge too far for justice And it is further Pvided that yf any man there shall upon right cause desyre to returne for England the Companie here nor the owners of the families will not be difficult in that case havinge alwayes power in there owne hands to licence home or recall any of theire servents accordinge to an order of Court here in that case Pvided

After the
 shares
 employed ye
 residue of
 men to be
 sett on the
 generalitie

12. The dividnt of shares beinge made and men allotted to the tribes and families out of the number of the rest remaining (beinge as yet unknowne unto us but as we esteeme they may be about 200 Psons) we doe ordaine that you reserved them for the generall

employment as about the whale fishing soe manie of them as may be thought fitt to assist that work for the time also some about pearle fishing and others about clearing and fencing the ground findinge of Ambergreece and such other buisines of that nature as you shall think fitt and see cause to imploy them

13. You shall cause the foresaid 40 electors to choose out by their most voyces sixe of the discreetest and fittest men of the generalitie remayning to be also of your sett councill and soe your counsell consistinge of 26 Psons by there advice or the most voyces of them assembled ppon publike warninge given you shall passe and determine all matters of moment that shall daylie or weeklie happen as alsoe to sitt in cases of justice at your generall sessions amongst wch number of yor councillors we doe allow you Mr. Deputie Gouvernor in decidinge all causes to have 2 voyces And alsoe we give you this privilege that yf in decydinge any difference yt shall soe fall out that the voyces on either pte to be equall that then your owne shall be accounted the swayinge voyce to determine the matter on yor side Provided that the Counsell assembled be at all times fowre at the least beside yourselfe And at yor generall sessions not under 10 And this course to be held from time to time by yourselfe and any of the two preachers adjoyninge to choose the 40 Electors and they to choose as aforesaid the bayliffs of yor and the other sett counsell

The 40 electors to choose 6 more of the Councill the Deputie Gouvernor 2 voyces—20 of the Councill at all Sessions

John Headland Harpeneere 14. As touchinge the whale fishinge we would have you to observe that we have sent John Headland our cheife harpeneere Henry Hughes his mate and others of his * * * to whose assistance we joyne Mr. Willmott as skilfull in that buisnes wth such others to helpe as you shall appointe thereto And that you admit noe time at yor firste comminge thither to sett upon that worke consideringe that the whale fishinge will be soe neare spent before you shall come thither

The Trompe Whale 15. Choise kind of whales we understand by theire discription wch have seen them are called Trompe Whales at whose places of resort there is ever found greate store of Ambergreece the oyle will be as hard as tallow when it is made but yet very good for many uses lett yt be carefully casked up by ytselfe without any other whale oyle of other kinds to be mixed with yt Also that kind of whale yeildeth great store of Spermacety wch lyeth in the head lett that also be carefully reserved by ytselfe and put into caske marked for Spermaceti whither it be thin or thicke we will trye yt and refine yt when yt shall come hither and doe well observe that puttinge up the oyle the coopers may make the caske very tight for leakedge by puttinge Bullrushes into the ioynets for wch use we have sent some store by theise shippes

The Whale with Ambergreece 16. Those Trompe Whales are observed to have noe finns in there throats as some other small whales have but they have in some of theire inwarde pts greate store of Ambergreece congealed wch they have not as yet cast out

we pray you have a care that when any whale is opened you would yourselfe attend or cause some other to see yt searched thoroughly that neither by negligence nor fraud we may be deprived of that hope

17. As touchinge pearle fishinge yt is said that yf you distroy theire oyster bedds by dragges or such disturbances they will forsake the coaste the best approved course is dyvinge and drawinge them up in basketts yf you may possible have the meanes to doe yt

Concern-
inge Pearle
fishinge

18. As touchinge the findinge of Amber-
greece upon shore wch is driven up by every
storme where the wind bloweth we would
have you remember that by such as you appointe to that buisnes as also in Pearle fishinge and in such like matters of charge you may be deceived of the best and fayrest except you be very carefull in your choice of honest men wherein though we doubt not of your care yet for the further bond of there truth we give you authoritie by vertue of his Mats Lres Patents to us in that case that as yourselfe are here sworne to us for the discharge of your dutie so you would also give another the forme whereof we have sett downe in the end of these Instruccions as well to yor Counsell as to the clarke of the store and to all others to whom you shall thinke yt fitt but especially to them that shall be employed in Amber pearles or any like buisnes wherein they may privilie doe us wronge.

Amber-
greece and
Pearle
fishinge

19. The ground wch we menconed before for

general employment is all that Pcell of land left undivided without the tribes neare the Garnard's head upon this land we would have you sett your number ^{Yor 200 men} of 200 men or soe many of them as may ^{to be neare} be spared from other generall uses and ^{Garnard's} head employmts to cleare the ground from incombrances of trees and bryers to fence and make yt fitt for pease roots and such like thinges to serve for food that wee be never driven to supplie from home any more meale pease or any like thinges and what men you shall want of 200 for the generall employmt or a greater number yf you can Pfittable employ them when you shall signifie soe much unto us we intend (godwillinge) to furnishe the same

20. This generall employment as you knowe is only at the charge of such voluntary adventurers as have now furnished and sett out this supplie of 2 or 3 shippes to whome only the benefitt of the said employment is to redound for 7 yeres to come and because we would have noe man rest upon a certayne Salarye leaste he should be carlesse and neglect his labor we have ppointed the gaines of the said generall employment as well to satisfye the disbursements of the adventurers as the labor of you the Governor and of all the rest of the said 200 men (or more) of that employment in which manner first unto yourselfe besides the three shares of land wch we have Pmised at the charge of the Companie freeilie to bestowe upon you and your heires for ever at the expiraccon of yor govermt or at the end of three yeares at the Companies choyce we have agreed to bestow upon you the

twentyeth pte of all the cleare gaines (we meane the charge to be first taken away) of all the pearles and whalefishing and the 20th pte of all the Tobacco and other fruits of the ground wch shall be hither sent and sold as marchandize raised and reaped by the labor and paines of the said generall employment together with 3s. 4d. upon every ounce of Ambergreece that shall be found by any man in the Islands and 16s. 8d. upon every ounce that yorselfe shall find the residue of all the aforesaid cleare Pfitts shall be equallie devided amongst the adventurers here and the 200 labourers (be they more or lesse) of the said generall employment Provided that before we make any devidissions of Pfitts the charges shall be first taken of and repaid to the adventurers we meane the charge of whale fishing and of all such thinges as have necessarilie yssued out of the store or otherwise to the use of the generall employment to the raysinge & furtherance of the said Pfitts and not otherwise

21. To the end that adventurers here and yorselfe wth the planters of the said generall employmt may noe way be defrauded we doe ordayne and pray you strictlye to observe that noe goods or marchandizes may be divided there nor conveyed in private but that all thinges whatsoever found & raised in the generall by yor industryes and labour may be delivered as yt is found or brought into the Storehouse to be readye against any of our shippes shall come thither that the same may be safelie & entirely shipped hither without any concealinge or division there to be made An Invoice thereof to be

sent wthall to the Governor and Companie here by yorselfe and the Clarke of the Store of the just waighte contents & number of every Poell

22. Least any man should doubt and not be sattisfyed for his labours to take his contentmt by this course of Pffits wee doe thus further explain our meaninge in that pointe That at the end of every yeare it shall be lawfull and free for you the Governor wth consent of most voyces of the generall employmt to choose one or two more at your charge to be sent over hither in some one of our shipps to make an accompt wth us for all goods and marchandizes wch you have sent us over to that day bringing wth them the due charge upon us as also under the hand of the Clarke of the Store what we are to charge upon you or them for Pvisions out there wch wth such other necessarie charges yssued out here being deducted the residue remayninge of the sale of all such goods wth soe much of the goods as shall be found unsould shall be divided to you the Governor first whatsoever is your Pte the residue in equal fullnes to be given to the Adventurers the one moyetie And the other to the use of the generall planters there as is aforesaid

To deliver
the planters
Pte to the
men sent

23. It is not intended that the said dividend shall be rendered by us to everye Pticuler man his int share thereof for that will be impossible for us to doe not knowinge how many or how longe they have wrought nor how any man hath deserved more or lesse only we Pmise this much for our Pts to deliver the whole moyete and devision of gaines belonging unto the generalitie as also the

Governors Pte unto such hands as they and you shall choose yearlie to send hither to make an accompt wth us payinge the same to them in one entyre sune to be imployed as you and the said generalitie shall have given to your said agents comission and to be distributed by you the Gouvernor and such other as the said generalitie shall choose amonge themselves to ioyne wth you to pportion the same to every man his due

24. We doe accompt that all men that shall be imployed in the generall are to be capable of this contentment by Pffitts raised out of there labours as well those sixe of your sett counsell the Clarke of the Store those that attend upon your Pson and all the rest except the preacher and such as we have agreed wthall for pencons whereof we have given you a note in writinge And therefore we will you to take order that noe man live idle there under Ptence of his place and office but that everye man may helpe in one kinde or other and that you may observe to whome you may Pporcon out the dividint more or lesse as each man for his paines and service shall deserve

All as well
as the 6 of
the Coun-
cell to be
paid out of
the labour

25. But yf any refuse and will not accept this contentment out of the Pffits in that case we have appointed a base coyne wch we send rated wth our Pvisions whereby you may give to such men there weekly wages when they worke and as you shall find them to deserve wth wch coyne yt shall be lawfull and free for them to buy any Pvisions out of the Store or any

He that
refuseth to
be paid out
of the pro-
fits to be
paid in
base coyne

fishes come tooles or any other thinge in the Islands where they can gett the same And to that end you shall Pclaim the said coyne to be currant to passe freelye from man to man only throughout the Islands and not otherwise

Content by profits 26. And yf by this meanes yt shall soe fall out that many men of the said generall imployment shall accepte to take there contentmt by such weekly wages in base coyne whereby the number of those that rest contented wth the contract of Pffitts being the fewer the lesse pporcon of Pffitts must yssue from us to give them content yet for their better incuragemt we Pmise of our own voluntarie that the one half of whatsoever shall be found that we have gained by the contentinge soe many wth base coyne shall be freely imparted by us to those that have willinglie yielded to take their salarye out of the Pffitts to make there dividents the better

Leave there labors to the blessinge of God 27. As for any assurance of Pffitts to arise to ourselves or to yorselfe or them we can noe way make yt more Pffitable than by furnishinge Pvisions as we have done by placing you there upon the land and by settinge downe our best advise and purpose and soe leave yt to the blessinge of God and to your orderly care of government and to there industrious and dilligent labor to assert all these Pcedent orders and those that hereafter follow for the use of those plants and seedswch we now send you wth order and dirrecon how to use them

Yf shorte of whale 28. Yf you shall come short thither of the whale fishinge soe that you shall want

meanes to freight the shippes then wee will
 you to sett soe manie men as can be spared
 to cutt downe the best and straigtest sound cedar
 trees in Davids Island to make up both the shippes
 freight when they shall come from thence but lett the
 trees be squared before you shipp them and what
 tobacco and other thinges there are ready lett them be
 sent wthall

fishinge
 then load
 with cedar

29. Let all our shippes now and hereafter be
 dispatched to come away wth all expedition.
 because the longer you keepe them there
 the more freight & wages grows upon us to be paid
 and the more to be taken out of yor gaines

Dispatch
 away their
 shippinge

30. Retaine noe man of the Shippes Com-
 panie wch goeth from hence upon wages
 except he will stay wthout wages upon the
 same condicons as others doe and take noe
 Pvisions of any shippes or others whatsoever whereby
 to charge us with bills of Exchange or to pay for the
 same nor settle any new wages with any man except
 we have first given you comission in those cases all
 wch courses by others we have found heretofore to be
 verye prejudiciall unto us and therefore we doe utterly
 forbid them

To enter-
 tayne no
 man of the
 Shippes
 Companie

31. We pray you observe that proclama-
 con and searche be made at everie shippes
 cominge away that noe man Psume to robb
 the planters nor wronge the adventurers by bringinge
 away theire houshold stuffs appell beddinge or any
 kind of marchandize from the generall to private uses
 as Amber pearle tobacco or any like thinges and to

To observe
 the Procla-
 macon

inflict some exemplarie punishment upon the offender in that case.

32. Yt shall be lawfull for any of the tribes
Lawfull for any of the tribes to shipp in any of the shippes and families to shipp in any of yor shippes goods and marchandizes as they have raised by there owne labor to be first by them given in a note to the Clarke of the Store to be sent to the Governor and Companie here to be delivered to the use of the proprietors whereof the said Clarke shall make a distinccon in his invoyce from the generall goods whereby the Companie here may knowe what fraigt to aske and receive for the same

33. Take dilligent care that your gunpow-
To preserve their Gunpowder. der may be safely kept and Pserved from fyre and wettinge and that neither powder nor shott be spent as heretofore in vaine and needless uses as in shootinge of healthes welcomes or farewells and that your Armor and weapons wth all warlike Pvisions may be kept in good repayre and in readiness against tyme of use

34. Yf at your cominge thither you shall
Returne defective Gunpowder find any defective gunpowder or broken pieces that cannott there be made fitt for service lett the same be returned by theise shippes to be here mended and shall be returned you again by the next

35. Give charge that your netts and lynes
Dryinge there netts after they have been wett may be carefully hunge up to be dryed in the shade and not in the sunne nor be suffered to lye on heaps to rott and

when they are any whitt broken sett some to mend them that you be not destitute

36. Yf you shall find the fortificacons soe lefte by Mr. Moore that they stand yet in further use of repayringe it shall be free for you to take such men out of the generalitie as also out of the tribes and families as shall be needfull both in case as also to watch and warde some at one time and some at another by turnes in wch cases everye man shall be readye to lend his helpe freely as in yr discretion by advise of your counsell you shall have cause to use them

Mainteyn-
inge Forti-
ficacons

37. Yf at any time you shall have a man or more skillfull in any necessarye facultye as gunners shippwrights gardniers or such like lett care be always taken that some other of the yonger sorte may be sette to learne the same that by decaye of such men you be not lefte destitute of others to supplie there roomes

A care to
traîne up
men skilfull
as Gunners

38. Wee hold yt fitt and have given order that Mr. Wilmott having holpen to end the whale fishinge that he goe wth the Pinnace to the Savage Islands wth such Pvisions as we have put aboard him to trucke there for such thinges as are fitt for England as also for sundrye thinges wch is hoped he shall there gett for the Plantacon as Cattle Cassader Sugar Canes negroes to dive for pearles and what other plants are there to be had wch we cannott write in Pticulers

Wilmott to
goe to the
Savage
Islands

39. Wee would have you to use all your best meanes and helpe your can gett in the Islands to discover what likelyhood there is of myn-

Minner-
ralls.

neralls to be found that wee be not driven to enter upon a greate charge from hence to sett upon that buisnes without some good encouragement

Yellow Ratsbane. 40. We have sent you yellow ratsbane in

fyne powder to kill ratts to be mixed with oatemeale and laid in shells on the ground wesoever they haunt, wch lett not be neglected nor any other meanes to traps snares and whatsoever ellse to sestroye them utterlye yf yt be possible least they multiplie upon you and devour all yor fruits and plants

Skilfull curer of tobacco. 41. Wee have sent you Mr. Tickner a skilfull planter & curer of tobacco lett him

be assisted with wtsoever men or meanes that may conveniently be spared for that worke we have greate hope that he will assort that comoditie to the benefitt of us the adventurers and you the planters yf any of the tribes and families shall Pceave his way to be good & stable, they may learn of him both to plant and to cure yt for he hath covenanted wth us to teach his skill unto all and must receave of us accordingly wee pray you respect him for his dyett wth you Mr. Governor whiles he is wth you in generall and lett the families doe the like when he is wth any of them to teach them his arte

Chirurgion 42. Wee have sent a Chirurgion Mr. Walker and have furnished him at our

charge he goeth as other men on adventure or to take his contentmt out of the generall Pffitts and therefore his skill and medicines must be used freely upon any that shall stand in neede thereof without takinge any consideracon of them in that case

43. Wee continue our order still to any man that shall finde Ambergreece to give him 13s. 4d. sterlg for everye ounce soe that he bring it forth to the Governor to the use of the Companie but if he shall be found concealinge yt or convayinge yt away then his punishmt is to be inflicted at yor discretion and to lose his Amber and all the benefitt of 13s. 4d. for findinge yt And least there should be any man there that in this interim since Mr. Moores cominge thence or before that hath found Amber and conceals yt hidd away you by our Proclamacon to signifye and charge all such men to bringe in there Amber and to receive there salvage of 13s. 4d. an ounce or to be subjected to the Pill thereof yf yt be otherwise found out

For yr find-
inge Am-
bergreece

44. Wee have sent you vynes and vyne cuttinges to be put in the grounds lett them be fenced from cattle and conies and kept cleare from weeds and multiplie them by puttinge all yor vyne cuttinges everye yeare into the ground that you may have many acres in severall places planted wth them 8 or 10 footes asunder you may leade them alonge or upright upon poles or lett them runne from tree to tree at your pleasure

Vynes to
sett

45. Also now Annyseeds wch lett be carefully sowne and the ground well weeded till they growe up when the seeds are ripe wch will be in 4 monthes lett them be carefully gathered clensed and laid abroad to dry Send us some of the first you can for an encouragement but keep the greatest store for seeds to sowe againe the next yeare you can never

Annyseeds

plant too much of that kind and there is noe better marchandize to be sent for England

Fennell seeds and Cominseeds 46. Also sweet fennell seeds commyne seeds Mariorum Bazil & Onion seeds all which must be presently sowne at your comyne thither and used wth care and dilligence as your Annyseeds and all those seeds are verye good marchandize to be sent hither reserving still for encrease yor roots of Mariorum Bazil and sweete fennell will hold and live yeare by yeare the topps beinge taken only for seeds and the rest decayinge must be everye yeare renewed by sowinge

Wateringe potts 47. Yf your season after sowinge be too drye for want of raigne you must water wth fresh water for wch purpose wee have sent you two watering potts wch wee pray you lett be used as well for yor vynes and seeds and other plants

Sugar canes 48. When Mr. Wilmott shall bringe Sugar canes or such plants from the Indyes lett them be sett weeded watered and multiplied with those offshoots wch shall growe out of them we have sent you orange seeds common and citron seeds they will come thick beinge sowen but they must be the nexte yeare supplanted and sett thinner to beare fruite

Mulberrie Trees 49. Wee have sent you Mulberrie seeds wch will also come very thicke the firste yeare but must be replanted and sett to growe thinner the second yere theise also will require greate store of grownd and to be sett 10 foot asunder for in time they will growe to be greate trees in the second

or third yeare you may beginn to gather the leaves for Silke wormes

50. Whereas in sundrye of the tribes there are pooles of freshwater wch in the dividint will fall by lott to some mens shares whereby others in the same tribes will fall out to have none It is agreed by order of a Greate Generall Court wch we pray you observe that it may be allwaies put in execucon that all the families of the same tribe or of any other tribe wantinge the benefitt of freshwater may have free recourse by some commodious waies (wthout doing damage through any mans land) wthout interrupcon for the use of the said freshwater as there occasions shall from time to time require till such time as they may find freshwaters in their owne land

Freshwater
free to all

51. Yf the members of any tribe shall determine to build a towne or two wthin any of their tribes for their more commodious dwelling together the same shall be sealed by the advice of you the deputie Governor and your councell in the most convenient places allotting unto everye one that will build his house in the said town half an acre of ground or more yf he will have more shares soe that he exceed not half an acre for everye share to adioyne to his house for an orchard or garden and in leuwe thereof abridge him of halfe an acre out of his shares when they doe buy in the said tribes

Townes
builded
with the
advice of
the Deputie
Governor

52. Wee doe ordaine that the bayliffe of everie tribe shall be chosen once everie two yeares upon the feast day of the Annun-

The Bayley
to be
chosen
everie two
yeares

ciaoon of the blessed virgin commonlye called our Ladye day (accordinge to the computacon of the Church of Englande) or the day followinge yf the said Ladye day fall out to be the Saboth or the same Bayliffe still to be then confirmed for other two yeares by those who have power of ellecon and approvinge of a newe And in case of the death or disposall of any the said Bayliffs wthin 10 dayes after the said death or disposall for that yt shall be lawfull for you the said Governor and yor whole counsell or the greatest Pte of you upon just reasons in open quarter Cessions to dispose any from his Baoliwiske and in the mean time to suspend him from the execucon of his office wch said new elleccon of any the said baylife shall be in manner and forme followinge (vizt)

The office of
Bayliffs

You the said Governor together wth yor Councill or the most Pte of them shall cause to be assembled 20 honest discrete and of the most industrious men inhabitinge wthin the said tribe who shall psent unto you and your said Councill the names of one or two of yor said Inhabitantes whom they shall esteeme most worthie of the said place him or one of them to be elected into the said office of Bayliffe for the tearme of 2 yeares aforesaid by the pluralitie of voyces of the said 20 electors so as he be a man approved and allowed of by you the said Governor or yor Councill or the greatest Pte thereof And yf yt shall not seeme meete to you or your counsell aforesoid to allowe of the said Pson elected as of a fitt member to be ioyned to you in Councill then the said electors to Pcede to a new eleccon in

manner aforesaid except and alwayes reserved unto the owners and freeholders of every tribe or the maior Pte of them free power and authoritie by speciall commission theire hands to constitute and appointe any person to whome they themselves shall think fitt to be bayliffe of theire tribe any aforesaid eleccion or nomination to the contrary notwithstanding wch said Bayliffe soe elected constituted or appointed shall have the charge of overseeing all the labor and manners of all the severall Psons inhabitinge wthin his said tribe causing them to live in a religious and decent fashion and wth dilligence to followe their severall labors and to administer iustice equitye and rigt to be done unto every person wthin his said tribe or charge and yet as many as may be to omit his care and imploymt in his owne Ptculer family And for his better encouragemt in the Pformance of his said duty and place It is ordered that he the said Bayliff shall have one thirtyeth Pte of all the Pffitts wch come in dividents betweene the owners and occupyers of the said severall shares wthin his tribe And therefore that he the said Bayliffe use his best endeavours upon everye shippinge of comodities from his tribe to cause a true and just invoice to be made and sent hither of all the said comodityes that shall be sent from thence whereby both himselfe may receave his said 30th Pte and the owners and occupyers make a iust dividnt of all the rest

53. And notwithstandinge any of theise aforesaid orders you may at all times and yt shall be lawfull for you to comand and

In case of
offence and
defence

call from the tribes and generall imploynt all and everie Pson in case of defence or offence against the enemye or any other publique service against fyre or such like occasion wherein necessitye shall require their use and Psent service

The articles
to be read
4 times a
yeare

54. We require you fower times in the yeare at yor greatest assemblies as at the generall Cessions or such like to reade or cause to be read all theise Articles contayned in theise & ye preecedent pages in the audience of all the people assembled that they may the better understand our meaninge towards them and their duties to be Pformed to yourselfe and so to us

E. COLLINGWOOD, Secr.

APPENDIX D.

THE names of the Adventurers and their shares in every tribe, according to the survey, and the best information yet ascertained of any of their alterations.

1. HAMILTON'S TRIBE.		Shares.
James Ld. Marquis		
Hamil.	...	6
Sir Edward Harwood		4
John Delbridge	...	3
John Dike	...	3
Ellis Roberts	...	2
Robert Phips	...	1
Ralph King	...	1
Quick's assigns	...	2
William Cannig	...	4
William Cannig	...	1
William Web	...	1
John Bernard's as-		
signes	...	2
Elias Roberts, jun.		1
John Gearing	...	2
Cleophas. Smith	...	2
Robert Earle of War-		Shares.
wick	...	4
Thomas Couell	...	3
Greenwell's assigns		1
— Cley	...	1
— Powlson	...	2
John Dike	...	1½
Common Land for		
Conveniency	...	25
George Thorp's as-		
signes	...	1
John Dike	...	1½
2. SMITH'S TRIBE.		
Sir Dudley Dig's as-		
signes	...	2
Richard Edwards	...	2
William Pane	...	4

	Shares.		Shares.
Robert Smith ...	2	Will. Nicols ...	2
George Barkley' as-		Edw. Ditchfield ...	1
signes ...	5	John Fletcher ...	2
Sir Samuel Sands ...	1	Gideon Delawne ...	2
Anthony Pennistone	4	Anth. Pennistone ...	3
Sir Edwin Sands ...	5	— Best ...	2
Sir Thomas Smith	5	Edw. Luckin ...	2
Richard More ...	4	Richard Rogers ...	2
Ad. Brumfield ...	2	Will. Palmer... ..	4
Rob. Johnson, alder-			
man	5		
John Wroth	3		
George Smith ...	4		
		4. PEMBROOKE'S TRIBE.	
3. DEVONSHIRE TRIBE.		George Smith ...	4
Anthony Pennistone	2	Gleab Land	2
John Dike	1	Nicholas Hide ...	1
John Dike	1	Sir Lawrence Hide	1
John Bernard's as-		Thomas Judwyn ...	2
signes	2	Will. Earl of Pemb.	10
Robert Earle of War-		Richard Edwards ...	1
wick	2	— Harding	1
Francis West ...	2	Rich. Edwards ...	1
Will. Lord Cavendish	5	Elias Roberts ...	1
Will. Earle of Devon-		Rich. Edwards ...	1
shire	5	Jacobson's assignes	1
Edw. Luchin ...	5	John Farrar	1
Edw. Ditchfield ...	1	Nicholas Farrar ...	1
Edw. Ditchfield ...	4	Nicholas Farrar ...	1
		Will. Cannig ...	2
		Richard Martin ...	2
		Morris Abbot ...	2

Shares.		Shares.	
Rich. Caswell	... 1	Sir Will. Wade	... 1
Rich. Caswell	... 2	John Bernard's heires	1
Will. Caswell	... 1		
Rich. Edwards	... 2	6. WARWICK'S TRIBE.	
Rich. Caswell	... 1	— Wheatley	... 2
Rich. Edwards	... 1	Cap. Daniel Tuckar	2
George Sands' as-		Will. Felgate	... 1
signes	... 2	Robert Earle of War-	
Will. Paine	... 2	wick	... 5
5. PAGIT'S TRIBE.		George Smith	... 5
John Chamberlaine	5	Sam. Tickner	... 2
Thomas Ayres and		Francis Meuell	... 1
Rich. Wiseman	4	Stephen Sparrow	... 1
Rich. Wiseman	... 1	Joseph Man	... 5
Will. Lord Pagit	... 10	Cap. Daniel Tuckar	2
Will. Palmer	... 4	Elias More	... 1
— Bagnell	... 5	Doctor Anth. Hun-	
John Bale	... 1	ron	... 2
— Wheatley	... 4	Francis Monerill	... 1
Christop. Barron	... 4	Rich. Poulson	... 1
John Wodall	... 1	Math. Shephard	... 1
John Wodall	... 1	George Tuckar	... 10
— Lewis	... 2	Ch. Clithroe	... 1
Owen Arthor's as-		George Swinow	... 2
signes	... 2	Rich. Tomlings	... 1
George Etheridge	... 4	Francis Merevill	... 1
	2	John Waters	... 2
		Martin Bond	... 2

	Shares.		Shares.
7. SOUTHAMPTON TRIBE.		Sir Ralph Winwood	2
Cap. Daniel Tuckar	4	8. SANDY'S TRIBE.	
John Britton ...	1	George Barclies heires	5
Rich. Chamberland	3	Sir Edwin Sands ..	5
Leon. Harwood's as-		Jerom Hidon ...	10
signes	1	Tho. Millin and John	
John Banks	1	Cuffe	2
Sir Nathanael Rich	12	Robert Chamberlaine	2
Rob. Earle of War-		Abr. Chamberlaine	1
wick	3	George Smith ...	2
Rich. More	6	Robert Gore	3
George Scot, Edward		Sir Edw. Sackville	1
Scot, and Antho.		Sir John Davers ...	1
Abdy	6	Robert Gore	2
Hen. Earle of South-		John Delbridge ...	1
ampton	4	John Wroth ...	1
And. Broumfield ...	2	John West's heires	4
Henry Timbed ...	2	Richard Chamber-	
Sir Tho. Hewet ...	2	laine	10
Mr. Perce	1		

APPENDIX E.

Pie Lane, 27 October, 1645.

UPON the Petition of dyvers inhabitants of the Somer Islands, It is ordered by the House of Commons that the inhabitants of ye Somer Islands & such others as shall joyne themselves unto them, shall without any molestation or trouble have and enjoy the libertie of their Consciencies in matters of God's worshipp as well in those pts. of America where they are now planted as in all other pts. of America where hereafter they may be planted, untill this house shall otherwise order And it is further ordered that it be referred to the Committee of Lords & Commons for Plantacons to see this order put in due execution.

H. ELSYNGE, Cler. Parl. Dom. Come.

Whereas the Right Honble. the Lords & Comons now assembled in Parliament within ye kingdome of Eng-

land, have by an ordinance of both their houses bearing date the second day of Novemb. Anno Dmy 1643 : constituted and ordayned Robert Earle of Warwick to be Governor in chiefe and Lord Admirall of all those Islands and othere Plantacons inhabited planted or belonging to any his Majesty the King of England's subjects or which hereafter may be inhabited planted or belonging to them within ye bounds & uppon the coasts of America. And have joyned in ayde and assistance with the said Earle of Warwick for the more effectuall speedy and early transaction of soe important & weighty a buysiness, divers Commissioners being members of both the said houses respectively (that is to say) Phillip Earle of Pembroke & Montgomery, Edward Earle of Manchester, Wittry Vis-count Say & Seale, Phillip Lord Wharton, John Lord Robbarts, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, knight and barronett, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, baronett, Sir Henry Vane, junior, knight, Sir Benjamin Rudyer, knt., John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Myles Corbitt, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassall, John Rolls and Wittry Spurstow, Esqrs., which chiefe govnor. together with the aforesd. Commissioners or any fower of them have full power & authority by the sayd ordinance (amongst other things) to provide for, order & dispose all things wch they shall from tyme to tyme finde most fitt & advantageous to the well gouning., securing, strengthening and peservacon of ye sayd Plantacons. And cheifely to the peservacon & advancement of the true Protestant religion amongst ye sayd Planters & inhabitants and the further enlargement & spreading of ye Gospell

of Jes. Christ amongst those that remain there in great & miserable blindness & ignorance. And whereas also dyvers of the inhabitants of the Somer Islands comonly called the Bermudas in ye parts of America beyond ye seas by their humble petition did addresse themselves to the honble. House of Comons now assembled in the Parliament of England thereby setting forth, That whereas the divine providence had stretched the lyne of their habitacon upon those remote pts. of ye world & made it a sanctury unto them flying the avengers of Non Conformity to human impositions: And in regard of their former sufferings by ye Episcopall pty during their abode in England & their extreame hardships which they have since endured by transplanting themselves, their wives & children from their native countrys into strange & desolate places. They with others who shall hereafter joyne themselves unto them in matters of worshipp might by the parliament's assent and authority be free from all molestation and trouble for any ceremony & imposition in the matters of God's worshipp either in these pts of where now they are or hereafter may be planted. And authority be protected to live in peace & quiettness priviledges of the gospel of Jesus Christ, protesting thereby in the sight of God that not affectation thoughts of selfe worthines, acknowledge to be the saynts. But ye and their conscientious convictions had drawn from them that humble request & petition to ye Parlmnt.

waveing all consideracon of secular reports which else might have taken with them & thereby also assuring ye Parlm^t. to render themselves (as allways they have done) subject in their lives & estates to every civill power for conscience sake. And yt they were fully satisfied yt all or passive obedience is to be yielded to the civill magestrate & therefore humbly prayed yt ye honble House of Commons would be pleased to condescend thereunto to grant them such favour in the lybertye of their conseience as thereby was desired, whereupon it was ordered (die lunæ vicessimo Septimo die Octob. An. Dmi. 1645) by the honble House of Comons aforesayd yt the inhabitants of ye Somer Islands & such others as shall joyne themselve unto them, shall without any molestation or trouble have & enjoy the lyberty of their consciences in matters of God's worshipp as well in those pts. of America where they are now planted as in all other pts. of America where hereafter they may be planted untill that house should otherwise order. And it was thereby further ordered yt it should be referred to the Comittee of Lords and Comons for Plantacons to see yt the sayd order were duly put in execution. Now know all manner of persons whom this may concerne, That we ye sayd Robert Earle of Warwick, gounor. in chiefe and Lord hygh Admirall of all these Islands together with ye sayd comissisners whose names with our seales are hereunto subscribed & added according to ye sayd petition. And in pursuance of the sayd order of Parlm^t. duly considering as well the justice & equity of the pmisses as also ye great hindrance of the soe much

to be desired propagation of the gospell of Jes. Chr. in the purity thereof in all parts of ye world especially in those darke corners of the earth which is likely to ensue if for want of countenance by authority of Parlm^t. dyvers pyous, godly, faithfull & well affected & disposed psons lykely oft to contribute most unto & advance that worke should be discouraged in the exercising their guifts and from continuing in those remote pts. of ye world: Have granted and by the power & authority of Parliament aforesayd doe by these pesents grant unto the sayd Petitioners and to all others that doe or hereafter shall inhabit or abyde in those parts of the worlde, that shall join with them (liveing in all godlynes & honesty and yielding obedience to civill authority in temporall things) protection imunity and freedome from all trouble & molestation by & for any ceremony or imposition in the matters of God's worshipp. And doe hereby charge & require all gouevnors, counsellours, comandars, officers, agents, owners, planters & all other inhabitants whatsoever within the parts & throughout the coasts of America aforesaid: To suffer them quietly, freely & peaceably to worship God accordingly in those Islands & also in all other parts & throughout the coasts of America aforesaid. And if in case they shall at any tyme hereafter thinke fitt to remove or transplant themselves or their habitations or any of their goods or estates any other pt. of America not only for to suffer & permitt them with all that is theirs soe to doe without lett or disturbance, but also to affoord them all necessary ayde, helpe &

assistance therein, as they will answer the contrary & the hygh contempt of the power and authority of Parliament aforesayd: In witness whereof wee the sayd Robert Earle of Warwick & other commissioners aforesayd whose names are hereunder written have hereunto sett our hands & seales this fourth day of Novembr. Anno Domi. 1645.

Warwick	Arth. Haslerigg
Pembroke & Montgomery	Ben. Rydiard
Manchester	H. Vane
W. Say & Seale	Cornelius Holland
P. Wharton	Myles Corbett.

[Where the blanks occur, the writing is illegible in the original manuscript.—EDITOR.]

APPENDIX F.

At the Court at White Hall the 14 daie of November, 1679.

Present :

His Highness Prince	Earle of Essex
Rupert	Earle of Bath
Lord President	Visct. Falconbirg
Lord Privie Seal	Lord Cavendish
Duke of Lauderdale	Lord Bp. of London
Marq. of Worcester	Lord Chief Justice North
Lord Chamberlain	Sir Henry Capell
Earle of Bridgwater	Sir John Erne.
Earle of Sunderland	

Mr. Seymour,

Whereas a Report from the Rt. Honble. the Lords of the Comtee. for Trade and Plantations was this day read at the Board in the words following :

May it please your Matie.

In obedience to your Maties. Reference

of 16th of May last wee have heard the complaint of divers Ffreeholders, Merchants and Inhabitants of the Bermudas against that Company, and being at several times attended by both parties with their learned council, the articles of grievances presented by the Planters many of them appearing of little weight and others being waved and passed over by the complainants, were at length reduced unto the particulars following.

Ffirst. The Inhabitants complain that they are forbidden to send any Petitions or present their appeals unto Your Matie. for relief without the approbation of the Governor and Council of those Islands: Ffor remedy whereof wee humbly offer our opinions that your Maties. subjects inhabiting those Islands ought to enjoy the comon influence of Your Royal Protection, and to have an absolute liberty of presenting their Petitions and appeals unto your Matie. without the participation or interruption of any person whatsoever.

And whereas the inhabitants doe likewise complaine that the owners of lands in the Bermudas have by orders from the Company disseized and ousted the Planters without any tryall at Law, wee have heard what could be said in this case by either party and the Company did aleadge unto us that there is a power granted them by Charter to hear and decide all differences and that no title was ever tryed in those Islands untill the yeare 1654 at which tyme they had thought fit by their orders to constitute a Court of Justice upon

the place and that they have not only reserved unto themselves the right of appeals but of hearing divers cases at the first instance. The Plaintiffs on the other side did argue that the obligation of attending the Company here for the decision of differences does oftentimes turn to their Ruine by reason of the great expense they are forced to beare in coming so far, and and the neglect of their Plantacons at home, that if, after a tryall at Law in the Island by a Jurie (as happens in divers cases) the Company shall continue to take upon them to reverse the Judgment and to make a different determination here by their own orders, it will be alwaies in their power to favor one another and even to reassume the lands whc. they shall have demised to the Inhabitants: besides that whereas formerly the whole company was resideing here in England, and that at present three parts of four of them being inhabitants upon the place, it is now just and reasonable that the Judicature should attend the major part of them there. In consideration whereof and upon full debate of the matter of this article wee are humbly of opinion that it dos not appeare that the Company have any power by their charter to determine matters of right as a court of Judicature at the first instance and that the tryall of causes originally by the Company here is illegal and ought not to be continued, and that in case the parties will not consent to referr the matter of the whole complaint to the decision of Your Maties. Comtee. of Plantacons, if Your Matie. shall so think fit wee cannot then but advise Your Maty. that the powers of this chartier be

left to a tryall at Law by a Scire Facias or Quo Warranto all of which is most humbly submitted.

Council Chamber, 29th
October 1679

Radnor
Bridgewater
H. Coventry
Lauderdale
Bathe
J. Erne
Ffaunconberg
H. Bowle.

The said Report was thereupon approved in council and it is hereby ordered that in case the Company of the Sumer Islands will not consent to refer the matter of the whole complaint made against them by the Planters to the decision of the Lords of the Comtee. for trade and Plantations then the Powers of their Charter to be left to a tryall at Law by a Scire Facias or Quo Warranto.

JOHN NICHOLAS.

APPENDIX G.

At the Court at Whitehall this 23rd day of November 1683.

Present :

The King's Most Excellent Matie.

Lord Arch. Bp. of Cant.	Earle of Clarendon
Lord Keeper	Earle of Bathe
Lord President	Earle of Craven
Lord Privy Seal	Earle of Notingham
Duke of Albermarle	Earle of Rochester
Duke of Beaufort	Lord Visct. Ffaunconberge
Earle of Huntingdon	Mr. Secretary Jenkins
Earle of Bridgwater	Mr. Chancellor of the Ex-
Earle of Chesterfield	chequer
Earle of Peterborough	Mr. Chancell. of ye Duchy
Earle of Sunderland	

Mr. Godolphin.

It was this day ordered by His Matie. in Council that Sir Robert Sawyer, knight, his Maties. Attorney Genrll. do forthwith appoint such person or persons as he shall think fitt to peruse the Bookes and

Records and all other publique Letters and Papers belonging to the Bermuda Company as well here as in the said Islands and to take copies of such things as he or they shall think fit for his Maties service, in order to the better prosecution of the Quo Warranto lately brought against the Charter of the sayd Company whereof the sayd Company and all their officers and all others who have any of the sayd Bookes, Publique Letters and other records in their custody are to take notice and permit the same accordingly.

FRANCIS GWYN.

I do appoint Mr. Mathew Morris and Mr. Thomas Smith to inspect the Companies Bookes, Records, &c. above said remaining here in England and Mr. Samuel Trott, Mr. John Stow, Mr. William Peniston, Mr. William Righton, and Mr. John Stone or any two of them to inspect the Bookes, Records, &c. of the said Company remaining in the said Islands according to the direction of His Maties. order in Council above written.

R. SAWYER.

APPENDIX H.

WILLIAM AND MARY by the Grace of God King and Queen of England Scotland France and Ireland Defendr of the ffaith &c To our trusty and well-beloved Isaack Richier Esq. Greeting Wee reposing especiall trust and confidence in your prudence courage and loyalty of our especiall Grace certain knowledge and mere motion have thought fit to constitute and appoint and by these presents doe constitute and appoint you the said Isaack Richier to be our Lieut. Governor and Commandr in Chiefe in and over our Islands and Plantations in America commonly called the Bermudas or Summer Islands with all the right members and appurtenances thereunto belonging And for your better guidance and direction Wee doe hereby require and command you to doe and execute all things in due manner that shall belong unto your command and the trust wee have reposed in you according to the several powers instructions and authorities mentioned in these presents or such further powers instructions and authorities as you shall now receive or wch shall at any time hereafter be granted or appointed unto you under our signe

hand signe manuall or by our order in Our Privy Council and according to such reasonable Laws and Statutes as are now in force or shall be made or agreed upon in such manner and forme as is hereafter expressed

And our will and pleasure is that you the said Isaack Richier having (after the publication of these our Letters Pattents) first taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Test together with the oath of duly executing the office of our Lieut. Governor and Commandr in Cheife of our said Islands wch our council in the said Islands or any three of them are hereby required and impowered to give and administer unto you you shall administr unto each of the member of the said council as well the said oathes appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Test as the oath for the due executing of their places and trusts

And we do hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to suspend any of the members of our councill from sitting voteing and assisting therein as you shall find just cause for soe doeing.

And if it shall any time happen that by the death departure out of our said Islands or suspension of any of councillrs or otherwise there shall be a vacancy in our said councill (any five whereof we doe appoint to be a Quorum) our will and pleasure is that you signify the same unto us by the first opportunity that wee may under our signett and signe manuall constitute and appoint others in their stead But that our

affaires at that distance may not suffer for want of a due number of councillrs if ever it shall happen there shall be less than seaven of them residing within our said Islands wee doe hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to choose as many persons out of the principall inhabitants thereof as will make up the full number of our councill to be seaven and noe more wch persons soe chosen and appointed by you shall by virtue of such choice remain councillrs in our Islands untill they are either confirmed by us or that by our nomination of other councillrs in their stead under our signe manuell and signett the said councill shall have above seaven persons in it

Wee doe hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority with the advice and consent of our councill from time to time as meet shall require to summon and call generall assemblies of the freeholders and planters within your goverment according to the usage of our other plantacons in America

And our will and pleasure is that the persons thereupon duly elected by the major part of the Freeholders and Planters of their respective divisions and soe returned (and having before their sitting taken the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Test wch you shall commissionate fit persons under our seale of our said Islands to administer unto them and without taking which none shall be capable of sitting tho elected) shall be called and held the assembly of those our Islands

And that you the said Isaack Richier by and with

the advice and consent of our said councill and assembly or the major part of them respectively have full power and authority to make constitute and ordain laws statutes and ordinances for the public peace welfare and good government of our said Islands and of ye people and inhabitants thereof and of such others as shall resort thereto and for the benefit of us our heires and successrs wch said laws statutes and ordinances are to be as neare as may be agreeable unto the laws and statutes of our Kingdom of England provided that all such laws statutes and ordinances of what nature and duration soever be within three months or sooner after the making of the same transmitted unto us under our seale of those Islands for our approbation or disallowance of them as alsoe duplicates thereof by the next conveyance and in case all or any of them (be not before confirmed by us) shall at any time be disallowed and disapproved and soe signified by us our heires and successrs under our or their signe manual and signett or by order of our or their privy councill unto you the said Isaack Richier or to the commandr in chiefe of our said Islands for the time being then such and soe many of them as shall be disallowed and disapproved shall from thenceforth cease and determine and be utterly voyd and of none effect anything to the contrary thereof anywise notwithstanding

And to the end nothing may be passed or done by our said councill or assembly to the prejudice of us our heires and successrs wee will and ordaine that you the said Isaack Richier shall have and enjoy a negative voice in the makeing and passing all laws statutes

and ordinances as aforesd and that you shall and may likewise from time to time as you shall judge it necessary adjourne prorogue and dissolve all generall assemblies as aforesaid

Our will and pleasure is that you shall and may keep and use our seale appointed or to be appointed by us for those our Islands

And wee doe farther give and grant unto you the said Isaack Richier full power and authority from time to time and at any time hereafter by yourselfe or by any other to be authorised by you in that behalfe to administer and give the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to every such person as you shall think fit who shall at any time or times pass into our said Islands or shall be resident or abiding there

And wee doe hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority with the advice and consent of our councill to erect constitute and establish such and soe many Courts of Judicature and Publick Justice within our said Islands as you and they shall thinke fit for the hearing considering and determining of all causes as well criminall as civill according to law and equity and for awarding execution thereupon with all reasonable and necessary powers authorities fees and priviledges belonging unto them as alsoe to appoint and commission all fit persons in the several parts of our said Islands to administer the oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Test unto such as shall be obliged to take the same

Wee doe hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to constitute and appoint Judge and in cases requisite Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer Justices of the Peace Sheriffs and other necessary officers and ministers within our said Islands for the better administration of Justice and putting the laws in execution and to administer such oath and oaths as are usually given for the due execution and performance of offices and places and for the clearing of truth in judiciall causes

And wee doe hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority when you shall see cause and shall judge any offender or offenders in capitall and criminal matters or for any fine or fforfeitures due unto us fitt objects of our mercy to pardon all such offenders and to remit such fines and fforfeitures (treason and wilful murder onely excepted) in the wch case you shall likewise have power upon extraordinary occasions to grant reprieves to the offenders therein until and to the intent our pleasure may be farther known

Wee doe by these presents give and grant unto you full power and authority to collatt any person or persons to any churches chappells or other ecclesiasticall benefices within our said Islands as often as they shall happen to be voyd

And wee doe hereby give and grant unto you the said Isaack Richier by yourself your captains and commanders by you to be authorised full power and authority to levy arm muster command or imploy all persons whatsoever residing within our said Islands

and as occasion shall serve them to transfer from one place to another for the resisting and withstanding of all enemies pyratts and rebells both at land and sea and to transport such forces to any of our plantacons in America as occasion shall require for the defence of the same agt the attempts of any of our enemies and them if there shall be occasion to pursue or prosecute in or out of the limitts of our said Islands or Plantacons or any of them And if it shall so please God them to vanquish and being taken either according to the law of arms to put to death or keep and preserve alive at your discretion And to execute martiall law in time of invasion insurrection or wars and during the continuance of the same and upon soldiers in pay and to doe and execute all and every other thing wch to a captn generall or governor in chiefe doth or ought of right to belong as fully and amply as any our capitaines generall or governors in chiefe doth or hath usually done

Wee doe hereby give and grant unto you full power and authority to erect raise build and maintain within our Islands aforesd such and soe many forts platforms towers and fortifications as by the advice aforesd shall be adjudged necessary and the same or any of them to ffortify and ffurnish with ordnance ammuniton and all sorts of arms fit and necessary for the security and defence of our said Islands and the same again or any of them to demolish or dismantle as may be most convenient

Wee doe hereby give and grant under you the said Issack Richier full power and authority to erect

one or more Court or Courts of Admirall within our said Islands and Plantacons for the hearing and determining all marine and other causes and matters proper therein to be heard with all reasonable and necessary powers authorities fees and priviledges and alsoe to exercise all powers belonging to the place and office of Vice-Admirall of and in all the seas and coasts about your government according to such commission authority and instructions as you shall receive from ourselves under the Seale of our Admiralty or or from our High Admirall or Commissioners for executing the office of High Admirall of our fforeigne plantacons for the time being

And forasmuch as divers mutinies and disorders doe happen by persons shipped and imployed at sea may be the better governed and ordered wee do hereby give and grant unto you the sd Isaack Richier full power and authority to constitute and appoint captaines of shippes and other commanders and to grant unto such captaines of shippes and other commanders commissions to execute the law martiall and to use such proceedings authoritys punishments correction and execution upon any offender or offenders who shall be mutinous seditious disorderly or any way unruly either at sea or during the time of their aboard or residence in any of our forts harbours or bays of our said Islands or Plantacons as the case shall be found to require according to martiall law provided that nothing therein conteyned shall be construed to the enabling you or any by your authority to hold plea or have jurisdiction of any offence cause matter

or thing committed or done upon high sea or within any the havens rivers or creekes of our said Islands or Plantacons under your government by any capt. capt. commander lt. matr. officer soldier seaman or person whatsoever who shall be in actuall service and pay in and on board any of our shippes of war or other vessels acting by immediate commission or warrt from our commissioners for executing the office of our High Admirall of England under the Seale of our Admiralty or from our High Admirall of England for the time being but that such capt. commander lt. master officer seaman soldier and other person soe offending shall be left to be proceeded against and tryed as the meritts of their offences shall require either by commission under our Great Seale of England as the Statute of the Twenty-eighth of Henry the Eighth directs or by commission from our High Admirall for the time being according to the Act of Parliament passed in the Thirteenth Year of the Reigne of the late King Charles the Second entitled an Act for the establishing articles and orders for the regulating and better government of his maities navy shippes of warr and forces by sea and not otherwise saving onely that it shall and may be lawfull for you upon any such capt. or commander refusing or neglecting to execute or upon his negligent or undue executing of any the written orders he shall receive from you for our service and the service of our said Islands to suspend him the said capt. or commander from the execution of his said office of commander and committ him into safe custody

either on board his own ship or elsewhere at the discretion of you in order to his being brought to answer for the same by commission either under our great Seale of England or from our High Admirall for the time being as is before expressed in wch case our will and pleasure is that the capt. or commander so by you suspended, shall during such his suspension and commitment be succeeded in his said office by such commission or warrt officer of our said shipp appointed by our commissioners for executing the office of our High Admirall or from our High Admirall for the time being as by the known practice and discipline of our navy does and ought next to succeed him, as in case of death, sickness or other ordinary disability happening to the commander of any of our shippes and not otherwise, you standing also accountable to us for the truth and importance of the crime and misdemeanour for wch you shall soe proceed to the suspending of our said capt or commander.

Provided alsoe that all disorders and misdemeanours committed on shoar by any capt commander Lt master or other officer seaman soldier or person whatsoever belonging to any of our said shippes of war or other vessels acting by immediate commission or warrt from our commissioners for executing the office of our High Admirall of England under the seale of our Admiralty or from our High Admirall of England for the time being may be tryed and punished according to the laws of the place where any such disorders offences or misdemeanours shall be soe committed and shown notwithstanding such offenders be

in our actuall service and born in our pay on board any of our shippes of warr or other vessels acting by immediate commission or warrt from our commissioners for executing the office of our High Admirall or from our High Admirall as aforesaid soe as he shall not receive any protection (for the avoiding of Justice for such offences committed on shoar) from any pretence of his being employed in our service att sea Our further will and pleasure is that all publick mony raised or to be raised within our said Island be issued out by warrts from you or any other person in your absence (commissioned by us to be commander in chiefe) and disposed of by you or such commander in chiefe for the support of our Government in those Islands by and with the advice and consent of our councill

Wee doe hereby give you full power to appoint fairs marts and markets as you with the advice of our said councill shall think fitt

And wee doe likewise grant unto you full power and authority to order and appoint within our said Islands such and soe many ports harbours bays havens and other places for the conveniency and security of shipping and for the better loading and unloading of goods and merchandises in such and soe many places as by you with the advice and consent of our councill shall be thought fitt and convenient and in them or any of them to erect nominate and appoint custome houses warehouses and officers relating thereunto and them to alter change place or displace from time to time as with the advice aforesd shall be thought fitt

And wee doe hereby require and command all officers and ministers civill and military and all other Inhabitants of our said Islands to be obedient aiding and assisting unto you the said Isaack Richier in the execution of this our commission and of the powers and authorities therein conteyned or in case of your death or absence out of our said Islands unto the commander in chiefe to be appointed by us to whom wee doe by these presents give and grant all and singular the powers and authorities aforesd to be executed and injoyed by him dureing our pleasure or untill your arrivale within our said Islands And if upon such death or absence there be noe person upon the place appointed by us to be commander in chiefe our will and pleasure is that the then present councill of our said Islands doe take upon them the administration of the Government and execute this commission and the severall powers and authorities herein conteyned and the first concellor who shall be at the time of your death or absence residing within our said Islands doe precide in our said councill with such powers and preheminences as any former President hath used and enjoyed within our said Islands or any other our Plantacon in America until our farther pleasure be known or your arrival as aforesd

And wee doe hereby declare and appoint that you the said Isaack Richier shall and may hold exercise and enjoy the office and place of our lt governor and commander in chiefe in and over our said Islands commonly called the Bermudas or Somer Islands with

all and singular the powers and authorities hereby granted unto you for and during our will and pleasure

BARKER

In witness wee have caused these our Letters to be made Patent

Witness ourselves at Westminster the eighth day of November in the first year of our Reigne

Countersigned by the Earle of Shrewsbury

INSTRUCTIONS.

Being arrived there you are to take upon you the execution of the trust wee have reposed in you and forthwith to call together the councill of those our Islands by name Wm Green John Hubbert Perient Trott Richard Peniston Wm Pitt Tho Forster Tho Outerbridge Lau Dill John Robinson Joseph Storr Sam Trott and Ar Jones Esqrs.

You are with all due and usual solemnity to cause our said commission under our Great Seale of England constituting you our lt governor and commander in chiefe as aforesd to be then and there published

After wch you are to administer unto each of the members of our said councill as well ye oaths appointed by Act of Parliament to be taken instead of the oaths of alleadgeance and supremacy and the test and an oath for the due execution of their places and trusts

You are to propose or cause to be proposed to the Assembly wch you are to call when there shall be occasions these following perticulars

1. That the duty of one penny P pound be settled upon all tobacco exported but soe as wee may lessen the duty to wht proportion wee shall think fit from time to time as the condition of our said Islands shall require and that noe person be permitted to lade any tobacco on any ship or vessel before security be given for the payment of our customs and duties

2. That such moderate Quitt Rents be settled for the Lands enjoyed by the Inhabitants as with the advice of the councill you shall see convenient

3. That the Governors House the Prison the Guard house the Fortifications and all other Publick houses and places be sufficiently repaired and at the countries charge made good as the same has alwaies been done by levies and that the Assembly settle such levy or levies and direct the payment thereof the late company haveing never been at any charge therein and the settling of a levy being of absolute necessity and for the safety and interest of the Islands

You are with the advice of the councill to consider of the publick lands schoole lands whale fishery and all other profitts and revenues accruing unto us in those Islands and you are to take care that strict enquiry be made of the sherriffe and all other officers and ministers in whose possession any of the Publick Lands now are how they claim the same and by what Lease or Grant for what Terme and what Rent to what service they are obliged for such Rent and whether such service may be performed with an increase of Rent without oppression of the Poor

And whereas a memoriall has been presented unto

us touching the Publick Lands in our said Islands together with a copy of a certificate from the late Company concerning severall shares of Land formerly belonging to Cornelius Hubbard Owen Row and Sir John Danvers five shares whereof has been conveyed by Lettrs Pattent under the Great Seal of England to Hugh Noden of London Mercht you are to examine the said memoriale a copy whereof you will receive herewith and to return a speedy accot of the matters therein conteyned unto us for the farther signification of our pleasure therein

You are to continue unto the Publick Officers the allowance of the same numbers of shares of land and slaves, as were enjoyed by them dureing the time of the late company, untill our pleasure shall be known therein, and you are with all speed to send unto us an exact accot of all the said shares of land and slaves, and whereas wee are informed that there are several negroes, mulattoes and mustees lately belonging to the company in severall private hands, the wch ought to be seized, you are to take care thereof and to return an accot of the same, as alsoe what servants you and other officers want, that soe they may be thereby supplied with their full numbers You shall take care that all Planters and Inhabitants within your Government doe well and fitly provide themselves and their Xpian servants with arms and ammunition att their own expence, and that all Planters, Inhabitants and Christian servants be listed under officers and as often as shall be thought fitt mustered and trained, whereby they may be in a better readiness

for the defence of the said Islands under your Government and you are to use your utmost power and endeavours that each planter doe keep such a number of white servants, as by law is or shall be directed and that they appear in arms att all such times as they shall be required

You shall likewise send an accot unto us and the said committee for trade and plantacons of the present number of Planters and Inhabitants, men women and children, as well masters as servants free and unfree and of the slaves within our said Islands under your Government as alsoe a yearly accot of the increase and decrease of them and how many of them are fitt and obliged to bear armes in the malitia of those Islands

You shall cause an exact accot to be kept of all persons born, christened or buried within our said Islands, and send a yearly accot thereof as formerly

And that wee may be the better informed of the trade of our said Islands, you are to take especiall care that due entries be made of all goods and commodities, their species and quantities imported or exported with the names burthen and number of gunns of all ships comeing to or going from our said Islands, and you are to transmit the same unto us and to our committee for Trade and Plantacons yearly and duplicate thereof by the next conveyance

And whereas it is necessary that our rights and dues be preserved and recovered and that speedy and effectuall justice be administered in all cases concerning our Revenue You are to take care that a Court

of Exchequer be called and doe meet at all such times as be needfull

You are to give all due encouragement and invitation to Merchts. and others who shall bring Trade unto our said Islands or any may contribute to their advantage and in particular to the Royal Affrican Company of England, and wee are willing to recommend unto the said company, that our said Islands may have a constant and sufficient Imploy of merchantable Negroes at moderate rates in money or commodities, soe you are to take especiall care that payment be duly made and within a competent time according to their agreements

You are to recommend to the councill and assembly the raising of stocks and building of publick work-houses in convenient places for the imploying of the poor and indigent people

And you are forthwith to communicate such and soe many of these our instructions to our said councill wherein their advice and consent are mentioned to be requisitt, likewise all such others as from time to time you shall find convenient for our service to be imparted to them

And that wee may be alwais informed of persons fit to supply the vacancy of our councill in these our Islands, you are to transmitt unto us by one of our principall Secretaries of State and to our committee of Trade in foreign Plantacons with all convenient speed, the names and characters of six persons Inhabitants of our said Islands whom you shall esteem the best qualified to succeed in that Trust, and soe from

time to time when any of them shall dye, depart out of our said Islands, or become otherwise unfitt you are to supply the first number of six persons by nominating others to us in their stead

And whereas wee are willing in the best manner to provide for ye support of ye Government of those Islands by setting apart a sufficient allowance to such as shall be commander in chiefe resideing for the time being within the same. Our will and pleasure is that when it shall happen that you shall be absent from thence, one full moiety of the sallery and of all other perquisites and emoluments whatsoever wch should otherwise become due unto you shall dureing your absence be paid and satisfied unto such commander in cheefe who shall be resident upon the place for the time being wch we doe hereby order and allow unto him for his better maintainance and for the support of the dignity of that our Government

Our will and pleasure is that all publick mony accruing unto us and our Government there shall be paid unto such persons as you shall appoint to be Treasurer or Receiver thereof who is likewise to give good security for the true and faithful performance of his trust

You are to require the sheriffe and all other officers and ministers whatsoever who have received any of the publick mony at or since the eviction of the late companies charter, duly to account upon oath for the same and upon refusall or neglect of any of them to accompt as aforesaid you are to suspend him or them

from any publick offices or trusts in those Islands untill our farther pleasure be known

You shall take care in the fframing and passing of laws that noe escheats, fines or forfeitures be mentioned therein to be applyed or become payable otherwise then to us our heirs and successors for the support of the Goverment except what may belong to the informer

It is our express will and pleasure that all laws whatsoever for the good goverment and support of our said Islands be made indefinite and without limitation of time except the same be for a temporary end and shall expire and have its full effect within a certain terme and therefore you shall not reenact any law wch shall be once enacted by you except upon very urgent occasions, but in noe wise more than once without our express consent

You are to require the Secretary of our said Islands or his deputy for the time being to furnish you with all such acts and publick orders as shall be made from time to time, to the end the same may be transmitted unto us as above directed wch hee is duly to perform upon paine of incurring the forfeiture of his office

Whereas wee conceive it necessary for our service that there be an Attorney-Generall appointed who may at all times take care of our rights and interest within our said Islands, you are with all convenient speed to nominate and appoint a fitt person for that trust

You are to take especial care for the defence and

preservation of our said Islands that the Forts be in good repair and the gunns well mounted and secured, that there be a sufficient store of armes and amunition and that they be diligently attended with a competent number of the publick tenants soe trained that they may be serviceable, and that both day and night they watch and attend there and if you find any old and unfit for that service consideration is to be had of their age and former service and an allowance made them out of the generall levy and you are to putt able and skilfull men in their stead and if the militia be not soe well settled as it ought to be, you are to dispose and discipline them that they may be serviceable and at all times be in a readiness upon a sudden alarme

You are to take into your custody or under your care all such armes amunition great gunns or other stores in being within the said Islands wch have att any time been bought with the publick mony and particularly such amunition and provisions of war as are now sent to the said Islands by the officers of our ordnance and to dispose thereof as the service of our said Islands shall require

You are to demand an accot from the sherriffe or other officer how all such armes amunition great gunns or other stores wch have att any time been bought wth the publick mony, have been employed for the service of the said Islands, and how many have been sold spent lost decayed or disposed of and to whom or to what uses

You shall take an inventory of all armes amunition and stores remaining within our Islands under your

government and send an accompt of them forthwith and thenceforward yearly unto us and the lords of the committee for trade and fforraigne plantacons

You are from time to time to give us our committee for trade and plantacons an accompt of the wants and defects of our said Islands, what the chiefe products of them are and what new improvements the industry or invention of the planters hath afforded, what profitable advantage may be gained by trade and wch way you conceive wee may best contribute towards them

You shall endeavour to gett a law passed for the restraining of any inhumane severity wch by ill mastrs or overseers may be used towards their Christian servants, and you are alsoe wth the assistance of the councill and assembly to find out the best meanes to facilitate and encourage the conversion of negroes and other slaves to the Christian religion

Our will and pleasure is that appeales be permitted to be made from the courts in the said Islands unto our Lieut. Governor and councill in civill cases, provided the summe or value appealed for doe exceed fifty pounds ster. and that security be first given to the appellant to answer such charges as shall be awarded in case that the first sentence be affirmed and if either party shall not rest satisfied wth the judgment of our said Lieut. Governor and councill, that then they may appeal unto us in councill provided the summe or value appealed for exceed one hundred pounds ster. and that the said appeal be made within one fortnight after sentence and security given by the appellant that

hee will effectually prosecute the same and answer the condemnation as alsoe to pay such costs and damages as shall be awarded in case the sentence of our Lieut. Governor and councill be affirmed so as execution be not suspended by reason of any appeal unto us

APPENDIX I.

MR. FIFIELD

As soon as you arrive att Barbadoes apply yourselfe to the Governor and pray a particular order for the apprehending of Nicholas Trott, sen. if you shall have any reason to believe hee is in the Island, but let that order be executed wth diligence and secrecy at the first which if it does not availe, then let such order as you shall receive from the Governor be published and if you should get him and not have an opportunity to send him immediately to Bermudas before your departure putt him on board your own sloop and all the time you lye in that or any other Harbour lay him in irons else hee will certainly make an escape and wherever your affairs call you carry him along wth you till you arrive at Bermuda and if you should meet with him upon the seas I doe strictly require you to seize him and if any opposition be made by him or any of his Company then to use force and armes to that end, lett all your fire armes be ready loaded especially your Daterorex and the spare chamber, and likewise if you can find the mastr of the vessel that

carried him away, him to arrest att their Maties suit for the forfeiture of the Plantacon Bond, my letters wch you carry to the two Governors speaks his crimes, that hee is by several oathes already sworne agt. him guilty of being accessary to two felonies, several misdemeanours hee has committed against their Maties Government here; use all meanes you possibly can for his apprehension let noe money be spared and satisfy the governors of the particulars if they require them and make them sensible how much the King would be served if this Trott could be seized I wish you a good voyadge and a safe returne.

Your friend to serve you

Bermuda Oct 27, 91

J. RICHIER

APPENDIX K.

THIS Indenture made the sixteenth day of July in the Fourth Yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King and Queen Defenders of the Faith &c. and in the Yeare of Our Lord Christ One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety and two Between Our said Sovereigne Lord & Lady King William and Queen Mary of the one part and Thomas Neal of the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields in the county of Middlex, Esqr. of the other part, Witnesseth that the said King and Queens most Excellent maties. in consideracon of the good and faithful Services performed unto them by the said Thomas Neale and of the covenants and agreements hereinafter contained on the part of the said Thomas Neale his Executors and Administrators, to be Pformed and of their especial grace certaine knowledge and meer mocon Have given and Granted and by these presents for them and their Successors doe give and grant unto the saide Thomas Neale his Executors Adminis-

trators and Assigns, All Treasure Trove and all Treasure of what nature or kind soever formerly hidden in the ground or elsewhere in which none of our subjects have property in the Little Island called Ireland nere the Island of Bermudas in America or in any other of the Islands or Islets to the said Island of Bermudas belonging and which at any time or times between the date of these presents and the Six and Twentieth day of June which shall be in the yeare of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and one shall be found gained or recovered by the said Thomas Neale his Executors Administrators or Assigns or his or their Agents or Substitutes, excepting and always reserving unto Our said Sovereigne Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary their heires and successors One full Fifth part of all such Treasure Trove or other Treasure soe to be found gained or recovered as aforesaid And Our said Sovereigne Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary for ye considerations aforesaid have given and granted and by these presents doe give and grant full power License and authority unto him the said Thomas Neale his executors administrators and assigns and such agents deputies servants and substitutes as he or they shall appoint in his behalfe at his and there owne proper costs and charges to repaire to the parts before menconed and in lawful manner search for, digg up take and bring away all such treasure trove or other treasure as shall be found as aforesaid, And the said Thomas Neale doth for himselfe his heires executors administrators and assigns covenant promise and grant to and with their said Maties. and

successors by the Psents that he the said Thomas Neale his executors administrators or assigns shall forthwith or as soon as conveniently may be cause a voyage for the parts before mentioned to be proceeded upon at his and there owne proper costs and charges in order to the finding gaining digging or taking up of the Pmises and shall and will doe his and their best endeavours to cause such voyage and designe to be Pformed and executed with good successe and that a true and faithful account shall be kept in writeing of all such treasure trove or other treasure as shall be found digged or taken up as aforesaid and be exhibited to their said Maties. their heires and successors upon oath if it shall be required and also that all the treasure trove or other treasure as shall be so as aforesaid found digged or taken up within the time lymitts and places aforesaid shall be brought home into the Port of London the hazards of the sease restraints of princes and rulers enemies pirates and accidental fire only excepted and that one full fifth part thereof without any deducon defalcation or abatement whatsoever shall be well and truly paid and delevered to the use of their said Maties. or their heires or successors or to whom their said Maties. their heires and successors or ye commissioners of the treasury or high treasurer of England for the time being shall direct soe that the remaining four parts thereof shall and may be retained and kept by the said Thomas Neale his executors administrators or assigns to his and their owne use without any accot. matter or thing to be rendered for the same. And the

said King and Queens most Excellent Maties doe hereby require and comand all governors of their said Islands and all other their Maties. officers and subjects in their respective offices and imployments to be ayding and assisting unto the said Thomas Neale his agents substitutes and assignes in the furtherance of this service and the due execution of the power and authority hereby-granted and that none of their said Maties. officers or subjects whtsoever doe Psume in any wise to impede or hinder the same as they will avoid their Maties. high displeasure and punishments as may be inflicted Provided alwaies and their said Maties. intent and meaning is that the commander in chiefe of the said Islands of Bermudas for the time being or any other person or persons whome the commissioners of their Maties. Treasury or High Treasurer of England for the time being shall appoint shall and may inspect the digging searching or taking up of the said treasure trove or treasure hidd for the better securing their Maties. said fifth part according to the intent of these presents And the said King and Queens most Excellent Maties. doe hereby further grant that the said Thomas Neale, his agents substitutes and assigns shall and may proceed in the due execution of the power and authority hereby granted any former order or direcon or other matter or thing to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding In Witnesse whereof to one part of these presents indentures remaining with the said Thomas Neale their Maties. have caused their Great Seale of England to be affixed and to the other parts thereof re-

maining with their said Maties. the said Thomas Neale hath sett his hand and Seale the day and yeare first above written

By Writ of Privy Seal

A duplicate

SEYMOUR

Recorded from the Originall, Novem. ye 20, 1693

NICHOLAS TROTT

Secretary

Bermudas

The Deposition of Wm. Keele Esq. one of their Maties Justices of the Peace for these Islds being sworn saith

That about forty-six years since this Deponent was upon the Island called Ireland and there saw an iron bolt that was driven into a rock on the shore side directly opposite to a small Island called Cross Island and did thinke that to be a mark among severall others which I had heard the old standers of these Islands talke of vizt. a yellow wood tree with a brass plate nailed thereon with letters engraven and three heaps of stones placed tryangular upon which I was currous to make some search with my fellow companions there with me with such instruments as we then had but to no purpose

This Depont further saith that the tradition of a great treasure being hid on Ireland hath alwaies con-

tinued since his memorie but much more talked of formerly than now This Depont further sayth that he hath often heard many of the antient and credible inhabitants affirme that they have often seen the seeming appearances of ships seen by several at the same time and have immediately disappeared and that fire drakes hath bin seen flying from place to place and have bin observed to fall or light upon Ireland neer Cross Island

WILLIAM KEELE

Sworne this 21 day of
Novembr 1693 before his
Excellency the Governr

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda

The Deposition of Mr. Edmund Evans of
Port Royall being sworne saith (aged 71
years)

That about forty-eight yeares since he went to the Island of Ireland with several others and landed directly against Cross Island and crossing through the breadth of Ireld saw three heapes of stones curiously piled up in a tryangle Upon which one of the company (whose name was Bartholomew Paine) replied these heapes of stones are they soe much discoursed of by the old inhabitants to be the marks left by the Spaniards for the better finding their treasure againe which they had therein lefte and likewise that the three heapes of stones were opposite to

Cross Island and on the land of Mr. Richard Mathewlin (according as the Report had always bin)

This Depont further sayth that they were now extreemly elated with what they mett with upon which one Capt. Dickinson one of the company aforesaid informed one Mr. Joell a man of good parts and learning in these islands with what they had mett with at Ireland and likewise desired his company and assistance to Ireland to search for the treasure left there by the Spaniards which he did verily believe was in or neare that place Upon which the said Joell resolved and fixed a time with the said Capt. Dickinson to goe with him from Somerset which is within a mile or two of the Island of Ireland aforesaid The weather was faire when they sett forward but immediately proved soe bad they were forced back againe and time after time hath attempted the same but could not gitt ashore on Ireland to this Deponts certaine knowledge This Depont further sayth that at ye first settling of these Islands (in Governor Moore's time) there was severall persons makeing a platforme in the castle and at the same time saw a ship within gunn shott of the said castle upon which the governor caused a gunn to be loadened and fired at her and placed the shott in her bowe (which made her bear upp her helme & went her way) as this Depont has bin credibly informed and in some few years afterwards it was reported here by some travillers who came from the West Indies that she was a Spanish vessell sent to fetch the treasure left hidden in Ireland (as this Depont was informed) This Depont further

sayth that his father-in-law Capt. Dickinson and himselfe some yeares since were together in their land & saw a ship as they did verily beleeeve coming directly from Cross Island without any sailes loose yet her motion was soe very swifte as it was impossible for a vessell to be drove with all her sailes loose This Depont further sayth that the tradition of a great Treasure being left and hid on Ireland hath continued ever since his memory and that severall attempts hath bin made for the discovery thereof but have been variously disappointed

EDMUND EVANS

Sworne this 21st day of
Novembr 1693 before his
Excellency the Governr

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda Als Somer Islands

The Deposition of Richard Stafford Esqr. late
Cheife Judge of these Islands and late one of
the Councill

This Depont sayth that when he was a ladd itt was comonly discoursed amongst young & old people yt there was a great quantity of money buried in Ireland by some Spaniards that were cast away before ye settling of this Island and that it was enchanted and yt there was several fire drakes seene in ye night to fly to a valley betweene the Sandie Bayes on Ireland

and has heard a man or men say they have seene them

Hee this deponent sayth hee knew one Fletcher that pretended as it was sayd to have skill in ye black art this Fletcher went to Ireland and tryed to get the money and it was supposed did finde some but made it not knowne publickly but said there was money there and not long after went out of the country

This depont also sayth he knew one Simon Oker that told this depont he was at Ireland whether with Fletcher he cannot remember but sayd they and he dugg in ye vallie betweene the two bayes and thrust a spitt into the earth the spitt stopped against something that sounded like wood for it was reported that the money was covered with the hatch of a shipp then they dugg farther and tryed againe and found the same stop and sound in ye same depth as before but found noe money and soe desisted as he said And ye said Oker said yt he and some others was upon Ireland & himself or one of the company came to a yellow wood tree where was one or two heapes of square stones and on the tree a pece of brass nailed thereon whereon was letters and hereing so often of Spanish treasure to make sure of finding the place made fast a fishing line to ye tree and went so farr as ye line would reach and made that end fast and from thence towards the sea broke boughs and went to seek his fellowes but when they came together went to serch for ye tree but lost yt and ye line Alsoe likewise this depont has heard of others yt has reported they have seene ye said tree

This depont further sayth that he knew one Richard Franklin who lived on Ireland and he going upon some occation in the woods was besett with a parcell of hoggs that made him betake himselfe to his house about which time a man came and called him Richard Franklin Richard Franklin and said if thou beest a man speak Franklin replyed in the name of the Lord what art thou but he left Ireland and it was rumoured amongst the people that heard this that ye inchantment was about ye place where Franklin was when the hoggs came to him

This depont further sayth that he was a neighbour to one Mrs. Ellin Burrows and heard her say yt shee being in England discourseing with some persons A man with a white beard satt by and hearing the name of Bermuda asked if she knew the place she said yes he asked her if ye land did not lye south-east she said she was a woman and did not concerne herselfe with such things he asked if she knew a place called Ireland she said she had heard of it he told her that he was a Spaniard and was cast away in a shipp before ye countrey was inhabited and they gott on shore with a greate dele of treasure and it was covered with the hatch of the shipp and buried betweene two sandie bayes in a vally upon said Ireland And to know the place againe they sett up a cross on a little island neare the bayes with one arme pointing over the water to a pointe of land where they built a vessel to carry them away and the other arme of the cross pointing to the said vally or bay The time that the

said was last in England may be found in our records

And this depont farther sayth that in Sir John Heydons govermt he being in Warwick tribe, at a generall muster as we call it Sir John sent for this depont to come to him he ordered me to goe home forthwith and his boate would come by breake of day and take me in att my bay and ordered me to Ireland with Capt. Bristow Mr. Jeyner and a stranger to find the money that was hid there for that stranger had been certainly informed that there was a great quantity of money to be found there and he would shew it, his name I think was Cooke, the boate came to ye place with the persons and as I remember Capt Bristow came for me to my house and told me that ye man that was in ye boate was a great artice and he had spent some time to find out whether there was money buried in Ireland and sayd there was a great deale and he would soone shew it them for it was easy to be come by The wind was about south, and wee sayled towards Ireland but soone came up a gust of wind and raine, wee lowered our manesaile and stood our course, when ye gust was over we sett our saile againe but we were soone forst to lower it againe. Then some were saying the old rogue had kept the money long enoufe, it was time to part with it now. The stranger smiled but spake few words in my hearing butt putt his hand in his pocket and puled out a leather purce and out of that a white stone something bigger then a hen egg and it was handed to put to my eye which I did but could see nothing to admire, the

man sd with that stone he found hid treasure at new England a little before But before we gett a shore upon Ireland ye governor sent after me to come to him at Spanish Point Mustering Pece, but we returned being neare the said bayes and when wee came to ye governr he asked the stranger whether he had informed himselfe of ye money at Ireland, ye stranger said yes, ye governr told him he had advised with Mr Norwood and Mr Hortham and they thought it not lawfull to find it that way and soe we were dismiss

And this depont further sayth yt he remembers a yonge man, his name was Samuel Fox apprentice to Mr Norwood who told me he was goeing a fishing in a boate by himselfe and put ashore at Cross Island to eatt some prickle peares and comeing to a pare bush, there was a hole dugg in ye rock and ye leives hung into ye hole and the man said he stood in ye hole and laid ye pare skins in a heape at his feete, the said Fox remembering ye discourse about the hid treasure concluded to come another day and bring a hoe and digg soone after he came with his hoe and there was ye peare bush and ye skins that he had left but noe signe of a hole as he said

RICHARD STAFFORD to his best
memmorey

Sworne this 21 day of
November 1693 before his
Excellency ye Governor

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda alias Somer Islands

The Deposition of Mr Joseph Ming of Coopers Island, being the south east point of the Island of Bermuda, who deposeth and sayth,

That there hath been ever since his time a great discourse in these Islands, by the antient Inhabitants that a great treasure hath been hid in this said Coopers Island and likewise that the marks and signe of it were three yallow wood trees, that stood tryangular upon one of wch was a plate of brass nailed, and on the other were severall names or lettrs cutt thereon, and that this depont with some others to his assistance did about two years since endeavour to discover this treasure by digging in a peece of ground lying in the center of this tryangle of trees, for five or six dayes, but mett with noe success therein, soe grew soe tired and left off, not being able nor willing to bestowe any longer time or paines, therein, although the ground was very easye to digg and that the place they digged was foure or five yards square And this depont further sayth that by the report of old standers on this Island about fifty yeares since, one Capt. Seymour did cutt down one of the three trees aforesaid, on which was the plate and cross which was designed by the said Captn Seymour to be sent home for England, to the proprietors of these Islands, which tree was carryed to the water side and fastened with a rope to a boate and towing it away the rope broke and the tree sunke immediately and could not be recovered without two much trouble and charge, and still remaines where it sunke, and hath been often seen by

severall persons (and this depont hath seen the said tree within four or five years) And this depont further sayth that his grandfather had an extraordinary confidence of finding great treasure here from the sattisfacon of the tradition and markes here found upon which aboute sixty yeares since this deponts grandfather went for England and made his application to the proprietors to purchase this said Coopers Island and carried with him a considerable quantity of Ambergreece and presented the proprietors with a good part thereof, upon which the proprietors offered him Davids Island in lieu of his pesent which consists of tenn times more land and intrinsick vallue then this Coopers Island, which he rather choose then the said Davids Island for the hopes he had as aforesaid, and likewise oblidged himselfe to the proprietors to maintaine seven men continually at his owne charge towards manning the forts of the said Islands

JOSEPH MING

Sworne this 21st of November 1693 before his Excellency the Governor

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda

The Deposition of Captain William Seymour
one of their Maties Justices of the Peace for
these Islands being sworne saith,
That this depont hath been credibly informed by the

ancient Inhabitants of these Islands, that upon a small Island, of the south side of Ireland, was placed, a stake or post upon which was fixed a large wooden cross, one end thereof pointing towards Spanish Point and the other end towards Ireland, and upon the said Ireland, was a large yellow wood tree with a brass plate fixed thereon, and an inscription, the said yellow wood tree upon Ireland and the cross upon ye other small Island were observed to have respect to each other, being opposite marks which made the Inhabitants suppose and discourse of some treasure hid neere the said yellow wood tree upon the said Ireland, and many years after the said tree was cutt downe, (as this depont was informed,) came to this Island one Mr. Ffletcher, an eminent Astrologer who told the Inhabitants that there was much treasure hid there and accordingly this deponts ffather and others being desirous to ffind it went upon the said Ireland, with hoes and pickaxes to digg, and when they came there, the said Astr. told this deponts ffather and others with him that they must not ffear, ffor they would ffor a small time be struck blinde, upon which all the diggers left off and would not worke any more, saying they would not trust the devill with their eye sight.

This depont ffurther saies that he was credibly informed that the Astrologer was sundry nights upon the said Ireland all alone, using his art, by which the said Astrologer was well sattisffied of the money being there as he told the Inhabitants and was extraordinary angry with them, that they were so ffearfull

and left off when they were at ye very place and might in a short time have obtained the treasure

This depont ffurther sayth that sundry Inhabitants of great credit and reputation have informed him that they have seene the apparition of ships and vessels sayling about Cross Island and under Ireland, neare the place where the treasure is reported to be and this depont well knowes that there is not water enough, nor can any ship or vessell sail there, being ffoule ground, and shoull water, which makes the matter admirable and causes most people in these Islands to believe that something extraordinary must be upon these Islands by sundry apparitions ffrequently seen ever since the Island was inhabited

WILLIAM SEYMOUR

Sworne this 22d of November 1693 before his Excellency the Governr

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda

The Deposition of Mr. Thomas Walker who being sworne sayth

That this depont was appointed agent to manage the Wreck Affaire he made it his business to inquire after all antient marks found upon the lands or islands by the first inhabitants for the better intelligence of treasure in the wrecks from such marks and Spanish inscriptions upon Ireland Cooper's Island and the

west side land of Bermuda commonly called the money place or plantation of Sir John Heydon and this depont sayth that severall times he waited upon an antient gentleman by name Sampson Bond then minister of Spanish Point tribe eta. who voluntarily informed this depont that he the said Bond was the last Hollands warrs in his passage from England to Bermuda taken in the Bay of Biscay by a Dutch privateer or shipp of warr and carried into a port called the Groine belonging to the King of Spaines dominions and after the said Bond had been some time ashore there the antient men or inhabitants there at the Groine enquired of the said Bond what countryman he was & whither bound when taken by the enemy The said Bond told them he lived in an Island called Bermuda and was bound there The said Groine inhabitants told the said Bond that the said Island went by the name of one of their countrymen who for some years before was coming from New Spaine in a great shipp very wealthy and he being cast away upon the said Island & noe inhabitants gave it the name of Bermuda And that the said Bermudas did save and recover from his shipp or wreck a great quantity of treasure and brought the same ashore upon a key or island on the north side called Ireland and there buried their treasure under the ships hatches & for the better finding it againe did sett or fix a cross or marke upon another small island whereupon he sett John Bermudas The said Bond further told this depont that he asked the said Spaniards at the Groine why the said John Bermuda

did not come from the Groine in another shipp to fetch the treasure so hid They answered the said Bond that it was off remembrance there that the treasure was soe hid and that the said Jno. Bermudas sundry times attempted to come for it but by accidents and misfortunes was intercepted or cast away When the said Bond had heard them soe largely and amply discourse the matter and he having been in Bermudas before and well sattisfied of the truth of these markes soe found by the first inhabitants according to the Spaniards relation (he told the said Spaniards what he had heard there of Jno. Bermudas) as alsoe told them it was much talked off and sundry had attempted to ffind it but were discouraged and supposed the treasure soe hid to be enchanted The Spaniards at the Groine answered that the said treasure was certainly there still and that they knew nothing of its being enchanted

This depont further sayth that the said Bond in his life time sundry times did affirme the same relation to this depont when he went to vissit him which said Bonds credible information caused this depont to take spetiall notice thereof and accordingly gave the pattentees concerned for the wrecks in Bermuda an accot of the same in the yeare 1692 This depont further sayth that he is and has been credibly informed that upon Cooprs Island on the So. east side of Bermuda there was found by the first inhabitants a large copper plate upon a yellow wood tree with a cross and inscription ingraven thereon which gave the inhabitants suspicion of a great deal of treasure hid

there from a large Spaniard lost about half or three quarters of a mile distance right from that island which ships bottom have been discovered & seen by sundry inhabitants now liveing (and is a wreck which this depont has just reason to beleieve is very rich & wealthy &c.) And this depont further sayth that he hath been credibly informed that sundry parcells of Perew money had been found or taken off from the plantacion of Sr John Heydon on the west side called the money place as alsoe have read in the History of Bermuda that a man at one time found there about twenty pounds which is a token of a shipp lost with treasure over and against that place and of more money being buried thereabouts

This depont further saith that about the 29th day of September 1691 this depont went to the house of Mr. Richard Leycroft on the west side of Bermuda when and where the said Leycroft discoursed about wrecks of treasure in the sea and of treasure upon the land more particularly informed this depont that hee the sayd Leycroft was acquainted with an antient woman who had been in England many yeares agoe who gave him this following relation concerning treasure buried upon Ireland in Bermuda vizt she the said woman told the said Leycroft that she happened to fall into the company of an antient Spaniard in London who asked her where she lived She told him in Bermuda when at home Bermuda said the Spaniard that is the divills island And the said Spaniard further related to the said woman that he happened to be lost upon the rocks on the north side when bound home

from New Spaine to Old Spaine in a very wealthy shipp and after their ship stuck fast upon the rocks they had the opportunity of saving their lives and a greate deale of wealth or treasure which the Spaniard declared he helped to bring ashore upon a key or island & there helped to digg a hole and bury it & putt their ships hatches upon it & sett upp sundry crosses to find it againe And the said Spaniard told the said woman that they were comeing in a shipp to fetch the said welth which shipp coming into the harbour supposing the divill shott through the rocks at them when entering the harbour at which the Spaniards were so scared or affrighted that they came not into the harbour but returned home againe This was the said Leycrofts relation this depont as this depont remembers

THOMAS WALKER

Sworne this 22nd of November 1693 before his Excellency the Governor

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda

The Deposition of Mr. John Keeling of Somerset Tribe, aged 71 years, being sworne saith That about fifty years since this depont. was ashore upon the Island of Ireland, with one Captn. Dickinson deceased and ffound there three heaps of stones in a tryangle and a yellow wood tree, on which was severall letters or names, the discovery thereof much reffresht the memory of this depont. of what he had

often heard his father and other antient men of these Islands say, viz. that there was such marks and signes left by some Spaniards belonging to a great ship cast away thereabouts, being richly loaden and had there put on shore and buried a great part of their treasure and covered it with their ships hatches, which putt this depont. with some others upon serch and digging upon Cross Island, neare Ireland At the same time this depont. was possest with a panick ffeare, unwilling to make any ffurther prograce in serching or digging

This depont. ffurther sayth that the three heapes of stones and yellow wood trees were directly opposite to Cross Islands and that he saw the stump of the tree, on which was the cross, one hand thereof pointing to Spanish Point, the other hand directly to the three heapes of stones and yellow wood tree, as this depont. hath been credibly informed

This depont. ffurther sayth that he hath often heard his ffather say that there was a Spanish ship came to ffetch the money left on these Islands, but on their approach to ye Castle harbour mett with a shott from thence discharged by the then Governor which soe astonished them ffinding the Island to be inhabited that they dispared of pursueing what they came for

JOHN KEELING

Sworne this 27th day of
November, 1693. Before
his Excellency the Gover-
nor

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda alias Somer Islands

The Depositions of Mr. John Hurt, senior, of
Tucker's Town, an antient inhabitant of these
Islands, who deposeth and saith,

That there was upon Cooper's Island a yellow wood tree upon which was nayled a copper plate with a cross engraven upon it with an inscription underneath alsoe a great cedar tree opposite to it upon which was engraven or carved many lettrs Tryangle to them was a great heape of stones round about a Spanish jarr buried in the middle thereof and on the middle of these tryangles was a leavett or plain piece of ground, which would never bare any thing planted or sown thereon though many tryalls have been made time after time in vaine, untill the said yellow wood tree and cedar tree were cutt downe, after which itt became as ffertill as any other ground

And this depont. ffurther sayth there was a person here accounted an expert astrologer, by name Ffrancis Jones, who informed one Mr. Ffarmer, a man of good repute here in these Islands, that in his opinion there was a great treasure hid in said Coopers Islands, which said ffarmer did informe this depont. that the way to ffind it was by stretching or running a line in this tryangle and this depont. ffurther sayth that hee with sundry others dugg downe ffour ffoote under ground and ffound the under part to be like marll or rock And this depont. ffurther sayth that he has sundry times seene ffire drakes rise out of the said place or ground, and assend the aire towards Ireland, by which scimtomes or marks this depont. supposes a great rich

shipp or Spaniard to be cast away or lost right off from this Cooper's Island and that the people or Spaniards belonging to the said shipp gott on shore and buried some wealth in the tryangle or bare place aforesd., for that this depont. sayth he hath seen sundry timbers or a bottom of a large shipp within halfe a mile of the shore as also after badd weather hath seen sundry very large timbers and a piece of planke of neere six inches thick, drifted upon the bays or sandy parts of the said Cooper's Islands, and this depont. ffurther sayth that at severall times he hath seen the like ffire drakes ffly from George's Towne directly to the Island of Ireland

And this depont. ffurther sayth that there was a certaine Spanish shipp arrived here in Bermuda about thirty years since, wanting repaire, upon wch. severall carpentr of Bermuda were employed, which carpenters did informe this depont. that the Spaniards belonging to the said shipp did affirme to them that there was a vast quantity of treasure left and buried in the Islands of Ireland in Bermuda, as they have often heard the antient inhabitants of Spain say and that they never heard of any that have yet discovered or found the same

The mark of John Hurt, sepr.

✕

Sworne this 27th day of
November 1693. Before
his Excellency the Gover-
nor

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda alias Somer Islands

The Deposition of Capta. Samuel Brangman,
Commandr of one of their Maties. fforts called
Southampton ffort here in these Islands who
deposeth and sayth

That since his childhood this depont. hath ever heard much discourse of great treasure hid in the Island called Cooper's Island and that three yellow wood trees wch stood in a tryangle upon one of which was a brass plate and cross thereon & upon the other two yellow wood trees were severall names or letters putt thereon, and that the tree the cross and brass plate was upon was cute downe about ffifty years since as this depont. is informed And this depont. ffurther sayth hee hath seen the same tree under water within these few yeares and can goe to the said tree at any time, and this depont. ffurther sayth that the place where these trees stood has alwayes been called by the name off Brassen Valley from ye several markes of brass sett and left there by the Spaniards, and this depont. further sayth that he hath often, he and the successour of one Mr. Carter say that the said Carter had found a considerable quantity of Ambergreese on the Cooper's Islands, and he the sd. Carter carried the said Ambergreece for England and pesented the Company or Propriets. of Bermuda, with a good part thereof, upon which the said Company would have settled upon the said Carter a certaine Island in Bermuda called Davids Island, but the said Carter rather asked of them the Island called Cooper's Island for that he beleeved he might discover much treasure there

hid, which Cooper's Islands was conferred on him & the Island called Davids Island by him refused though twenty times the intrinsick vallue.

And this depont. further saith that being at New England with one Capta. Johnson, bound for Bermuda, but being the time of the year called Hurricane Time was unwilling to proceed on his voyage to Bermuda, but discoursing with a certain gentleman there about the same, he told this depont. that there was noe need to ffeare any more hurricanes in Bermuda for the reason of their being ffrequent there was because of great wealth having been hid in the sd. Islands and undr some inchantmt. but now the time of the inchantmt was expired and they need not ffeare any more hurricanes, and likewise informed this depont. that whosoever should discover any of the money soe hid, would never be molested, soe this depont. proceeded on his voyage to Bermuda aforesd., and mett with a quick passage & moderate weather, And this depont. further saith that there hath bin never any hurricanes since being about seaven yeares

SAMUEL BRANGMAN

Sworne this 27th of Novembr.1693, before his
Excellency the Governor

JOHN GODDARD

Bermuda

The Deposition of Captaine Jonathan Stoakes
of the Tribe of Sta. Georges being sworne
saith

That neare Sixty yeares since a Spanish shipp came to an anchore on the West part of Bermuda, in very bad weather, such as noe boates would venture to goe on bord them, and being in such distress and noe help aprochd. them, they contrived some rafts and with great difficulty got on shore westerly, after which the Governr. being informed thereof ordered them to be placed in Sands Tribe and Southampton Tribe, 2 or 3 in a house, and some to ye Towne of St. Georges, some of the said Spaniards were quartered neere this deponts. ffathers house and came dayly there to vissitt some of their brethren and fellow suffers, one of the said visitrs about 50 yeares of age, whose name as he told this depont. was Don Solla Decosta, who informed this depont. that his ffather many yeares agoe came ashore in a rich ship upon Long Point which is since by the inhabitants of Bermuda called Ireland and there putt on shore three chests of money and covered it with their ships hatches and putt up 3 heapes of stones in a tryangle neare the place and likewise put up a cross on a little Island wch. is since called Cross Island, which cross pointed to the place on ye said Island where they had buryed & left their money. This depont. ffurther saith that he had soe great an oppinion of the said Spaniards relation to him that he offered Mr. Richard Mathewlin on whose land the said money was thought to be hid by reason

of some silver spoons & money having bin there found, that he would expend tenn pounds if the said Mathewlin would add tenn pounds more to it, in boreing & serching the said place, but the said Mathewlin refused his offer & declared himself unwilling to be at the charge fearing it might cost more than he was willing to expend to make a through serch.

JONATHAN STOAKES.

Sworne before his Excellency the Governor this
22 day of November, 1693.

JOHN GODDARD.

APPENDIX L.

Resolves of the House of the Assembly
May 12, 1761.

“That the ship called the Royal Ann owned by Messrs. Burch and Stiles and a Brigte called the Sally owned by Capt. Paul Paynter be the two vessels for Privateers and that they and each of them be returned to their owners in as good order as when taken into service and that in case the said ship should be taken or otherwise miscarry, that the said Stiles and Burch be paid her value, to be ascertained by the commissioners before sailing, and that if the said Brigte should be taken or otherwise miscarry that the said Capt. Paynter be paid her value to be ascertained by the commissioners before sailing.

That cannon and other military stores proper for the said vessels be borrowed and in case of loss to be paid to the lenders their value to be ascertained by the said commissioners.

That two hundred men be employed in the said Privateers and that each man be paid on his going on board, the sum of ten dollars.

That all prizes taken by the said Privateers be to the owners of the said Privateers and to the several persons on board the said Privateers to be divided according to such rules and proportions as hath been accustomed in Privateers out of these Islands and to be inserted in Articles to be drawn up by the said commissioners.

That for the more ease in raising of men that the militia of these Islands be called out at the discretion of his Excellency the Governor.

That such persons be appointed to command the said Privateers as to his Excellency the Governor shall seem meet, and that all other officers be appointed by the aforesaid commissioners.

That powder and all other such military stores as can be spared be had from out of the Magazine at the discretion of the Govr.

That the expences arising for the fitting out of the said Privateers be paid by the publick by a law laying a tax on all the Real and Personal Estates of the Inhabitants of these Islands.

That the sum of one thousand pounds currency be immediately borrowed by the said commissioners or a majority of them and that a legal interest be paid for the same until the said sum of one thousand pounds be repaid.

That the said Privateers shall not be out from these Islands above the space of one month."

APPENDIX M.

Isocrates: Pamphlet on the Bahama Jurisdiction,
p. 20—21.

“The Earl of Hillsborough aware of the peculiar privileges of the Bermudians, by usage and enjoyment to gather salt unmolested, but, very naturally from the origin of the Turks Islands’ agent, considering him as connected with the Bahama Governor, Mr. Shirley, writes to Governor Shirley the following mandatory letter from Whitehall, July 20, 1768.”

“Sir,

“As I have reason to believe, from intelligence received through different channels, that his Majesty’s subjects of the Bermuda Islands have been obstructed and restrained in the liberty they have long enjoyed of collecting salt from the ponds in Turks Islands, and exporting it to other places, it will be proper that you should make particular inquiry into the proceedings of Mr. Symmer in this respect, and that you should not countenance any regulations which may have the effect to restrain any of his

Majesty's subjects in the prosecution of those branches of commerce, which are in their nature and by usage free and unrestrained, provided they do, on their part, conform to such rules as shall be judged necessary for the benefit and advantage of the trade in general, and for improving the staple of a commodity so essential to the fisheries of this kingdom.

“ HILLSBOROUGH.”

APPENDIX N.

Isocrates : Pamphlet on the Bahama Jurisdiction,
p. 22—23.

“This petition of the Governor, Council and Assembly of Bermuda was received by his Majesty subsequent to the letter of Lord Hillsborough, dated July 20, 1768, and in consequence of it, Lord Hillsborough writes the following letter from Whitehall, dated October 12, 1768, to Governor Shirley.”

“ Sir,

In my letter to you No. 8, I acquainted you that I had reason to believe from intelligence through different channels, that his Majesty's subjects of the Bermuda Islands, had been obstructed and restrained in the liberty they had long enjoyed, of collecting salt from the ponds in Turks Islands ; and I signified to you his Majesty's commands, that you should not countenance any regulations that might have the effect to restrain any of his Majesty's subjects in those branches of commerce, that in their nature are, and ought to be free.

" Since the date of that letter, the truth of the intelligence I had received has been confirmed by advices from the Bermuda Islands ; and enclosed I send you, by the king's command, the copy of a petition to his Majesty of the Governor, Council and Assembly of those islands on that subject, accompanied with copies of several depositions, transmitted at the same time, in order to verify the facts therein contained.

" HILLSBOROUGH."

APPENDIX O.

An Act to prevent persons pretending or having pretended to be a minister of the Gospel or missionaries from any religious society whatever and not invested with holy orders according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England or the Church of Scotland from acting as preachers.

WHEREAS it is conceived extremely essential for the due preservation of order and good government as also for the better maintenance and support of the religious principles of the community of these Islands to exclude all persons pretending or having pretended to be ministers of the Gospel or missionaries from any religious society whatever and not regularly invested with holy orders according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England or the Church of Scotland from propagating any doctrine upon the Gospel or otherwise :

We therefore Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the General Assembly of these Your

Majesty's Bermuda or Somers Islands in America do most humbly beseech Your Majesty that it may be enacted And be it enacted by your Majesty's governor council and assembly and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the same that no person whatever pretending or having pretended to be a minister of the Gospel or missionary from any religious society and not regularly invested with holy orders according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England or the Church of Scotland shall be allowed to preach or propagate in these Islands any doctrine upon the Gospel by writing or printing or by speaking to teaching or in any wise lecturing or exhorting any public or collected audience whatever and that any person who shall violate or act repugnant to this law by preaching or propagating writing or printing or by speaking to teaching or in any way lecturing or exhorting any public or collected audience whatever as aforesaid shall be subject and liable to a fine of fifty pounds and to be imprisoned for the space of six months without bail or mainprize.

And be it further enacted and ordained by the authority aforesaid that every person or persons admitting or allowing in his her or their house or dwelling any person pretending or having pretended to be a minister of the Gospel or missionary from any religious society whatever and not invested with holy orders according to the rites and ceremonies aforesaid for the purpose of preaching or propagating any doctrine upon the Gospel by writing or printing or by speaking to teaching or in any wise lecturing or

exhorting as aforesaid any public or collected audience whatever shall be subject and liable to a fine of fifty pounds and an imprisonment of six months without bail or mainprize.

Passed the Assembly this 25 April 1800 and ordered to be laid before the council for concurrence.

APPENDIX P.

Sumer Islands ye 9th of Ffebruary 1689*

Loveing kinsman and landlord my respects presented unto you and unto my kinswoman your wife and relations wishing you welfare both temporall and eternall Yours of ye 5th of September last I have recd wherein you blame me for neglect of sendeing Indeed the last yeare I sent noe fruits for it was not likely that any would keepe it was soe late are the shippes went away and they which did send or carrey found it soe I did provide some plankes to have sent now and the Company† hath now sent an absolute order that noe cedar should bee shipt upon any termes unless it bee such as is pacyt wth goods or ffruits yet I have sent unto Mr. Trotts ffactor here some chest boards to pack tobaccoe in and have writt to Mr. Trott to deliver you ye chest or ye produce which you please to give him order I have here inclosed sent you an account of what I have sent and paid at

* How this letter found its way into the public records I cannot comprehend.

† The Bermuda Company.

severall tymes If it please God I live another yeare I will indeavour to take some course to pay your money in London butt now I have noe tobaccoe for I have not land to make tobaccoe on neither have now any money or comodity in England For fruits had I opportunities when fruits are seasonable you should not have any occasion to blame mee for neglect I pray God if it bee his will to settle peace and trueth in our native country and to settle such a form of government as may be most agreeable unto his holy word Sr I should gladly present my kinswoman with a pine apple if it were possible but at this time of yeare there is not any if any bee they have not the relish they have in August and September Thus desireing God to bless and keepe you with my best affections unto my kinswoman and landlady I committ you to ye protection of the Almighty and rest

Sr

Yours in what I may

GODHEARD ASSER

Superscribed thus

Ffor his kinsman and landlord John Basset of Trehedie in ye county of Cornwall Esq. and wife present.

Office.	Name.	Salary by Parliamentary Grant.		Colonial Salary.		Crown Rents.		Fees.	Compensation for per centage on Powder Duty.		5 per cent on Receipts and Payments.		Allowance as a Member of Council.		Salary from Post Office Revenue.		Total.		
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Governor	Lieut. Col. W. Reid, C.B., F.R.S. ..	2,199	13 4	480	0 0	46	18 10										2,726	12 2	
Colonial Secretary ..	Hon. R. Kennedy ..	550	0 0			12	0 0	378	6 0	22	8 8			18	16 0		981	10 8	
Clerk to Col. Secretary	Charles Fozard ..							28	12 0								28	12 0	
Deputy Colonial Secretary, St. George	John Barr			60	0 0			11	2 0								71	2 0	
Colonial Treasurer ..	Hon. W. B. Smith																745	5 11	
Deputy Treasurer, St. George	A. J. Fozard*			60	0 0							726	9 11		18	16 0		60	0 0
Coroner and Surveyor-General	D. R. Prudden ..							48	0 0								48	0 0	
Speaker of Assembly ..	Hon. J. N. Harvey†			82	0 0												82	0 0	
Clerk of the Council ..	G. F. Mallory ..							99	12 7								99	12 7	
Clerk of the Assembly ..	W. H. Darrell ..							118	17 6								118	17 6	
Deputy Post Master General, St. George ..	James Taylor ..			50	0 0			20	17 2							100	0 0	170	17 2
Post-Master, Hamilton ..	W. B. Perot ..			62	0 0			31	10 4								93	10 4	
Post-Master, Somerset ..	J. Outerbridge ..			12	0 0				16 8									12	16 8
Police Magistrate, Hamilton	Hon. T. Hall.. ..			60	0 0												60	0 0	
Police Magistrate, St. George	J. T. Fisher ..			60	0 0												60	0 0	
Emigration Agent ..	William Burgess ..			25	0 0												25	0 0	
Chief Justice, & Judge of Vice Admiralty Ct. ..	Hon. T. Butterfield	800	0 0					22	4 4					18	0 0		840	4 4	
First Assistant Judge of Vice Admiralty Court ..	Hon. H. G. Hunt..													14	8 0		14	8 0	
Vice Admiralty Judge ..	Hon. A. W. Harvey													18	0 0		18	0 0	
Second Assistant Judge of Vice Admiralty Court ..	John H. Darrell ..	500	0 0			99	0 0	27	13 2								617	13 2	
Attorney General and Advocate General..	D. Stewart ..																0	0 0	
Solicitor General and Advocate, Admiralty ..	J. H. Trott ..					18	19 11	102	11 4								121	11 3	
Provost-Marshal ..	S. G. Spencer ..							5	11 2								5	11 2	
Admiralty Registrar ..	T. F. Tucker..							7	12 0								7	12 0	
Marshal to Admiralty ..	G. F. Mallory ..							6	10 9								6	10 9	
Registrar in Chancery ..	W. H. Darrell ..							42	13 8								42	13 8	
Clerk of Assize		4,049	13 4	951	0 0	167	18 9	952	10 8	22	8 8	726	9 11	88	0 0	100	0 0	£7,058	1 4

* Since dead.

† This salary is fixed at £120 per annum, but has been reduced to this sum in consequence of a general election.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT, 1844.

Office.	Incumbent.	Salary from the Powder Fund.	Regular Salary.	Garrison Chaplain, St. George.	Ecclesiastical Commissary.	Chaplain to Hamilton Jail.	Chaplain to the Troops, Hamilton.	Salary from the Society for Propagating of Gospel in Foreign Parts.	Fees.	Total.
		£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Bishop	Rt. Revd. Dr. Field	250 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	250 0 0
Rector of Saint George	Rev. R. Tucker, D.D. .. ..	.. ..	240 0 0	100 0 0	60 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	9 19 0	409 19 0
Rector of Smiths and Hamilton	Rev. S. J. Stowe, A.M. .. ..	.. ..	200 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	7 5 6	207 5 6
Rector Pembroke and Devonshire	Rev. J. F. Light- hour, A.B. .. ..	.. ..	186 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	12 0 0	67 0 0	50 0 0	26 10 0	341 10 0
Rector of Paget's and Warwick	Rev. S. P. Mus- son* .. ..	.. ..	56 14 0	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	50 0 0	.. ..	106 14 0
Rector of Sandys and Southampton	Rev. Robert Hoare, A.B. ..	.. ..	180 0 0	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	10 0 0	190 0 0
		250 0 0	882 14 0	100 0 0	60 0 0	12 0 0	67 0 0	100 0 0	53 14 6	£1,506 8 6

* Mr. Musson resigned 20th of June, 1844, and removed to a benefice in Jamaica: this is consequently only part of a year's salary. The present Rector is the Rev. M. K. S. Frith, A.B.

Each Rector receives £120 per annum from the Colonial Treasury: the additional stipend arises from parochial revenue.

CUSTOMS' ESTABLISHMENT, 1844.

Office.	Name.	Colonial Salary.			Salary from the Customs' Duties.			Salary from the Crown.			Fees.			Total.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Collector . . .	Charles Heseltine . .	500	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	500	0	0
Landing Surveyor . .	J. L. Hurdie . .	300	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	300	0	0
Sub-Collector, St. George . . .	F. G. O'Reilly . .	..	..	..	209	19	0	90	1	0	..	..	..	300	0	0
Senior Searcher . .	R. D. Fraser . .	..	..	..	174	17	0	75	3	0	..	..	..	250	0	0
Junior Searcher . .	G. C. Harvey . .	..	..	..	174	17	0	25	3	0	..	..	..	200	0	0
Collector's Clerk and Warehouse Keeper . .	Hunt Marriott . .	..	..	..	140	8	0	59	12	0	..	..	..	200	0	0
Superintendent at Ireland Island . .	Asael Wells . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	30	0	0	..	..	..	30	0	0
Surveyor of Shipping . .	John Tucker . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	0	8	2	0
		800	0	0	700	1	0	279	19	0	8	2	0	£1,788	2	0

The whole of the above salaries are subject to a superannuation tax of 5 per cent.

RETURN OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN WARWICK, 1844.

Minister.	Communi- cants.	Mar- riages.	Bap- tisms.	Deaths.	Salary.	
					Colonial.	From Kirk.
Rev. J. Morrison.	220	4	14	14	£60	£100

A new Presbyterian Church, estimated to contain 300 persons has been erected in the town of Hamilton, and is about being completed.

RETURN OF THE WESLEYAN MISSION, 1844.

Situation.	Description of Place of Worship.	Hearers.	Members.
Hamilton	Chapel	400	199
St. George	Chapel	300	60
Warwick	Chapel	180	63
Bailey's Bay	Chapel	200	37
Harris' Bay	Chapel	50	7
Southampton	Private House	40	17
Ireland	School Room	100	16
St. David's	Hired Room	80	13
Tucker's Town	Private House	60	25
		1,410	437

This Mission was established in 1808, by the Rev. J. Marsden.

RECAPITULATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT FOR 1844.

	Paid by Great Britain.			Paid by the Colony.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Civil Establishment	2,849	13	4	997	18	10
Contingent Expenditure.. ..	..	..	..	1,755	17	5
Customs' Salaries and Contingent Expenditure	410	0	0	1,562	15	9
Judicial Establishment	1,300	0	0	90	0	0
Contingent Expenditure.. ..	..	..	..	163	16	11
Ecclesiastical Establishment .. ..	..	..	..	1,148	14	0
Contingent Expenditure.. ..	..	..	..	53	14	6
Miscellaneous Expenditure .. ..	..	..	..	6,131	7	5
Pensions	0	0	0	0	0	0
	4,559	13	4	11,904	4	10
By Great Britain	4,559	13	4			
By the Colony	11,904	4	10			
Total	£16,463	18	2			

COMPARATIVE EXPENDITURE FOR THE TWO YEARS,
1843 AND 1844.

For 1843.. .. £15,510 5 5

For 1844.. .. 16,463 18 2

£953 12 9

ORDNANCE AND COMMISSARIAT EXPENDITURE FOR 1844.

By the Ordnance for Works of Defence, Stores, and Cost of Convict Labour	£19,814	16	5
By the Commissariat for Pay and Provisions of the Troops.. .. .	51,151	10	2
Total paid by Great Britain	£70,966	6	7

z 2

SHIPPING INWARDS FOR THE YEARS 1843 AND 1844.

	1843.			1844.		
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
Great Britain ..	27	7,540	..	33	8,960	..
British Colonies	51	3,901	..	41	2,482	..
United States ..	80	10,767	..	77	10,687	..
Foreign Ports ..	24	1,738	..	32	2,048	..
	182	23,946	1,241	183	24,177	1,319

SHIPPING OUTWARDS FOR THE YEARS 1843 AND 1844.

	1843.			1844.		
	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
Great Britain ..	4	581	..	4	323	..
British Colonies	71	8,075	..	84	10,491	..
United States ..	87	12,405	..	67	8,786	..
Foreign Ports ..	16	1,750	..	25	3,690	..
	178	22,811	1,198	180	23,290	1,254

IMPORTS FOR THE YEARS 1843 AND 1844.

	1843.			1844.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Great Britain	54,597	15	5	54,735	11	1
North America	8,221	7	5	2,526	19	9
West Indies	4,932	15	5	7,277	8	6
United States	56,635	16	3	61,710	18	2
Foreign Ports	11,599	1	1	8,550	15	0
	135,986	15	7	134,801	12	6

EXPORTS FOR THE YEARS 1843 AND 1844.

	1843.			1844.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Great Britain	7,327	9	11	10,019	11	5
North America	575	9	10	285	15	2
West Indies	6,070	14	5	5,909	8	11
United States	2,052	4	5	4,572	11	5
Foreign Ports	615	9	4	1,865	18	0
	16,641	7	11	22,653	4	11

RETURN OF CHURCHES, CHAPELS, &c., FOR 1844.

Parishes.	Parish Popula- tion.	Par- sonage Hou- ses.	Glebes	Number of Persons the Churches will accom- modate.	Number who usually attend.	Chapels.	Number of attendants	Dis- senting Places of Wor- ship.
St. George	1,607	..	1	654	500	1	100	1
Hamilton .	991	..	1	350	350	..	..	1
Smith's ..	442	..	..	250	250	..	..	1
Devonshire	729	..	..	300	250	..	..	..
Pembroke.	2,079	1	1	600	400	1	150	1
Paget	867	1	1	550	450	..	..	..
Warwick ..	895	..	..	250	250	..	..	2
Southamp- ton	888	1	1	400	190	1	60	..
Sandy's ..	1,432	..	..	650	300	..	..	..
	9,930	3	5	4,004	2,940	3	310	6

This Return is taken from the Official Report for 1844, but does not appear to be altogether correct, as will be observed by referring to the Census and Return of the Wesleyan Mission.

CENSUS OF 1844.

Parishes.	Occupied Land in Acres.	No. of White.		No. of Coloured.		Total White.	Total Coloured.	Total.	Area of the Parishes in Acres.
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.				
St. George	233	260	375	394	578	635	972	1,607	1,580
Smith's ..	96	81	123	113	126	204	239	443	1,281
Hamilton	176	152	209	303	327	359	630	989	1,651
Devonshire	114	124	208	173	224	332	397	729	1,281
Pembroke	304	422	572	444	641	994	1,085	2,079	1,281
Pagets ..	160	176	276	189	231	452	420	872	1,281
Warwick..	144	170	267	201	256	437	457	894	1,281
Sandys...	192	213	354	414	644	567	1,058	1,625	1,507
Southamp- ton	123	125	232	231	300	357	531	888	1,281
	1,542	1,723	2,616	2,462	3,327	4,337	5,789	10,126	12,424

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS, 1844.

From the Official Returns of the Rectors of the respective
Parishes.

Parishes.	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.
St. George	74	13	54
Smith's	20	4	12
Hamilton	38	16	8
Devonshire	24	6	18
Pembroke.. .. .	85	28	43
Pagets	33	6	27
Warwick	15	1	14
Sandy's	66	8	31
Southampton	14	2	10
	369	84	219

RETURN OF GROUND PRODUCTIONS FOR 1844.

Parishes.	IN BUSHEL8.					IN LBS.			
	Potatoes.		Carrots.	Turnips.	Barley.	Rough Arrow Root.	Onions.	Aloes.	Vegetables.
	Sweet.	Irish.							
St. George	340	1,342	38½	40	4	152,150	1,000	..	5,160
Hamilton	519	2,224	38	74	..	453,692	.. ..	..	192,230
Smith's	488	3,705	158	305	..	142,830	5,300	50	42,377
Devonshire	178	651	27	8	..	12,600	.. ..	..	13,050
Pembroke	1,423½	2,608	103	77	51½	13,310	52,385	..	19,600
Pagets	375	392	7	7	..	26,900	1,300	..	7,900
Warwick	1,336	1,007	90	53	4	116,500	3,200	..	33,950
Southampton ..	1,996	811	26	26	71	71,790	69,150	2	11,109
Saads	4,614	695	103	67	8	120,730	200,700	..	9,250
	11,269½	13,435	590½	657	138½	1,110,502	332,735	52	296,617

RETURN OF SCHOOLS, TAKEN FROM THE BLUE BOOK, 1844.

Parish.	Public or Free School.	Name of Teacher.	Number of Scholars.			Mode of Instruction.	How Supported.	Total Expense of each School.	Number of Private Schools.	Remarks.
			Male.	Female.	Total.					
St. George	One	John G. Murray .	26	13	39	National ..	Soc. for Education of Negroes and Colonial Grant	42	4	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
	One, Infant	Dinah Bascome	24	18	42	National ..	Soc. for Education of Negroes and Colonial Grant	26	..	
	One, on St. David's Island	Eliza Armstrong	15	30	45	Ordinary ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Christian Knowledge & Col. Grant ..	36	..	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
Hamilton	One	J. L. Pearman ..	14	9	23	Ordinary ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Know.	28	4	
Smith's	One	Robert Steed . . .	8	7	15	Ordinary ..	Society Prop. the Gospel . . .	26	..	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
	One	Mary Godfrey ..	5	4	9	Ordinary ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Know.	24	2	
Devonshire	One	Robert Jennings	8	8	16	Ordinary ..	Society Prop. the Gospel . . .	26	..	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
	One	Eleanor Williams	11	5	16	Ordinary ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Know.	27	1	
Pembroke	One	Augustus Swan..	40	34	74	National ..	Society Prop. the Gospel . . .	50	4	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
	One	Chs. Williams ..	5	5	10	Ordinary ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Know.	27	..	
Paget's	One	David Tucker ..	21	20	41	National ..	Society Prop. the Gospel . . .	40	1	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
Warwick	One	Jas. Lightbourn	22	25	47	National ..	Society Prop. the Gospel . . .	46	2	
Southampton . .	One	Marg. Astwood..	7	10	17	Ordinary ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Know.	28	..	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
	One	Eliza Newbold ..	11	14	25	Ordinary ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Know.	31	1	
Sandy's	One	D. Basden.	21	10	31	National ..	Bermuda Soc. Pro. Ch. Know.	33	..	All the Public Schools are aided by Colonial Grants, in addition to the allowance made to the teachers from the respective societies.
	One	J. Wade	45	41	86	National ..	Society Prop. the Gospel . . .	48	1	
	16		283	253	536			538	20	

**RETURN SHOWING THE DISPROPORTION OF BIRTHS AND
DEATHS BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN AND AFRICAN
RACES, IN THE BERMUDAS.**

Return of Births and Deaths in the Colony of Bermuda, (not including the Naval and Military Establishments) from the 1st of January to the 31st of December, 1842, distinguishing White from Coloured.

From what Register taken.	Baptisms.		Deaths.	
	White.	Coloured.	White.	Coloured.
St. George	19	31	11	29
Pembroke	34	37	21	16
Devonshire	6	11	3	8
Pagets :	6	6	4	19
Warwick	2	7	3	8
Sandys	15	38	18	32
Southampton ..	6	28	6	9
Hamilton	10	11	3	8
Smiths	5	8	3	8
Presbyterians' Register	8	12	3	..
Wesleyans' Register	19	17	..	..
Totals	130	206	75	137
Proportion to 100 White—as 100 to 158			as 100	to 182

By the last Returns there were—

White Inhabitants 4,058

Coloured Inhabitants 4,566

being in the ratio of 100 Whites to 113 Coloured.

The number of Deaths for every 1,000 individuals in the population is 19 for Whites and 30 for Coloured.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF THE QUANTITY OF SPIRITS
on which Duty has been paid for the last seven years.
ended December 31st, 1842.

Year.	Gallons. Rum.	Gallons. Brandy.	Gallons. Gin.	Total. Gallons.
1836 ..	71,608	12,114	4,946	89,668
1837 ..	56,720	10,134	3,991	70,845
1838 ..	48,552	8,578	2,866	59,996
1839 ..	52,226	9,527	5,479	67,232
1840 ..	49,501	13,250	6,542	69,293
1841 ..	70,025	14,211	6,498	90,734
1842 ..	65,370	10,257	3,988	79,615

WINE.

	Pipes.	Dozen.
1841	174 ..	367
1842	158 ..	523

See Journals of the Assembly, 1843, p. 8.

THE END.

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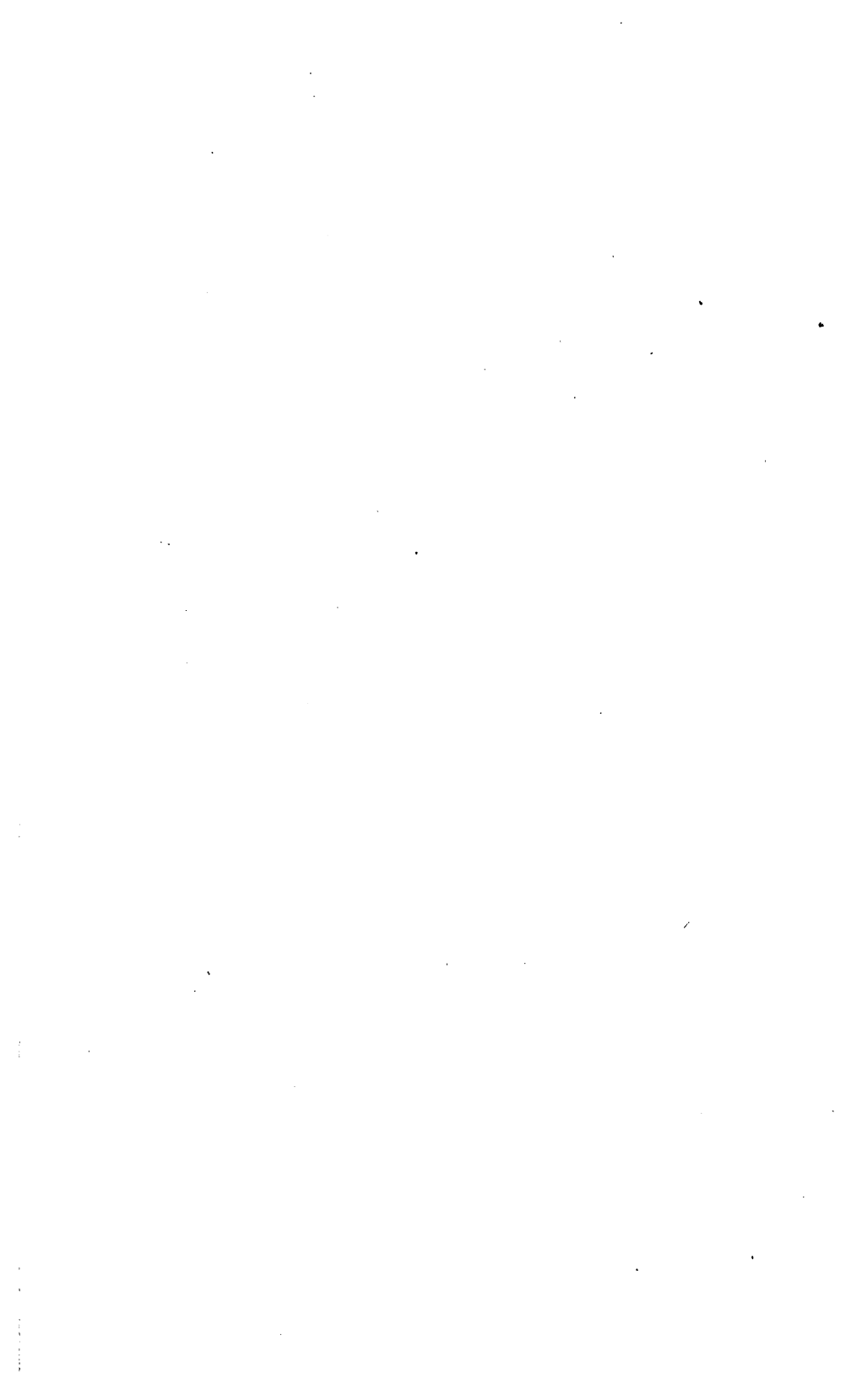
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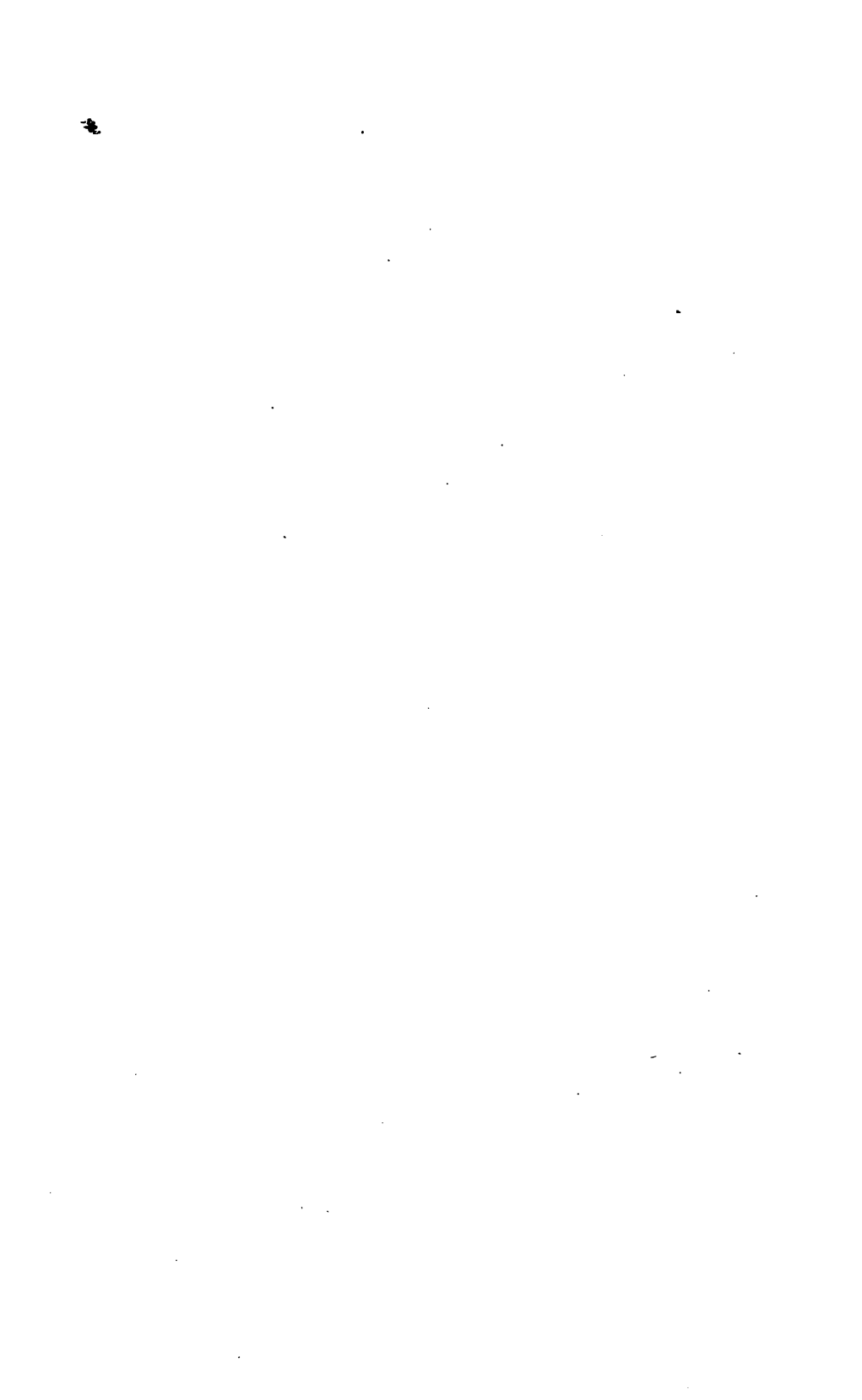
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